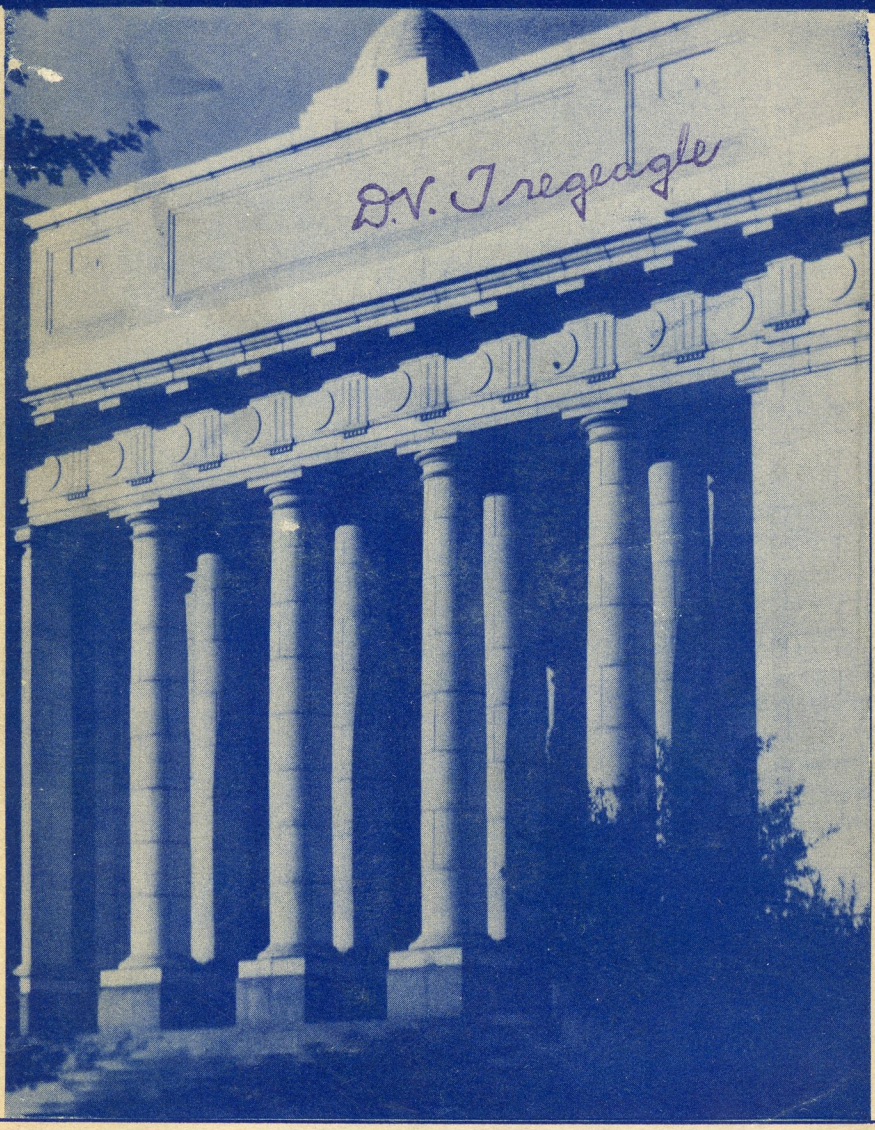
PROVO

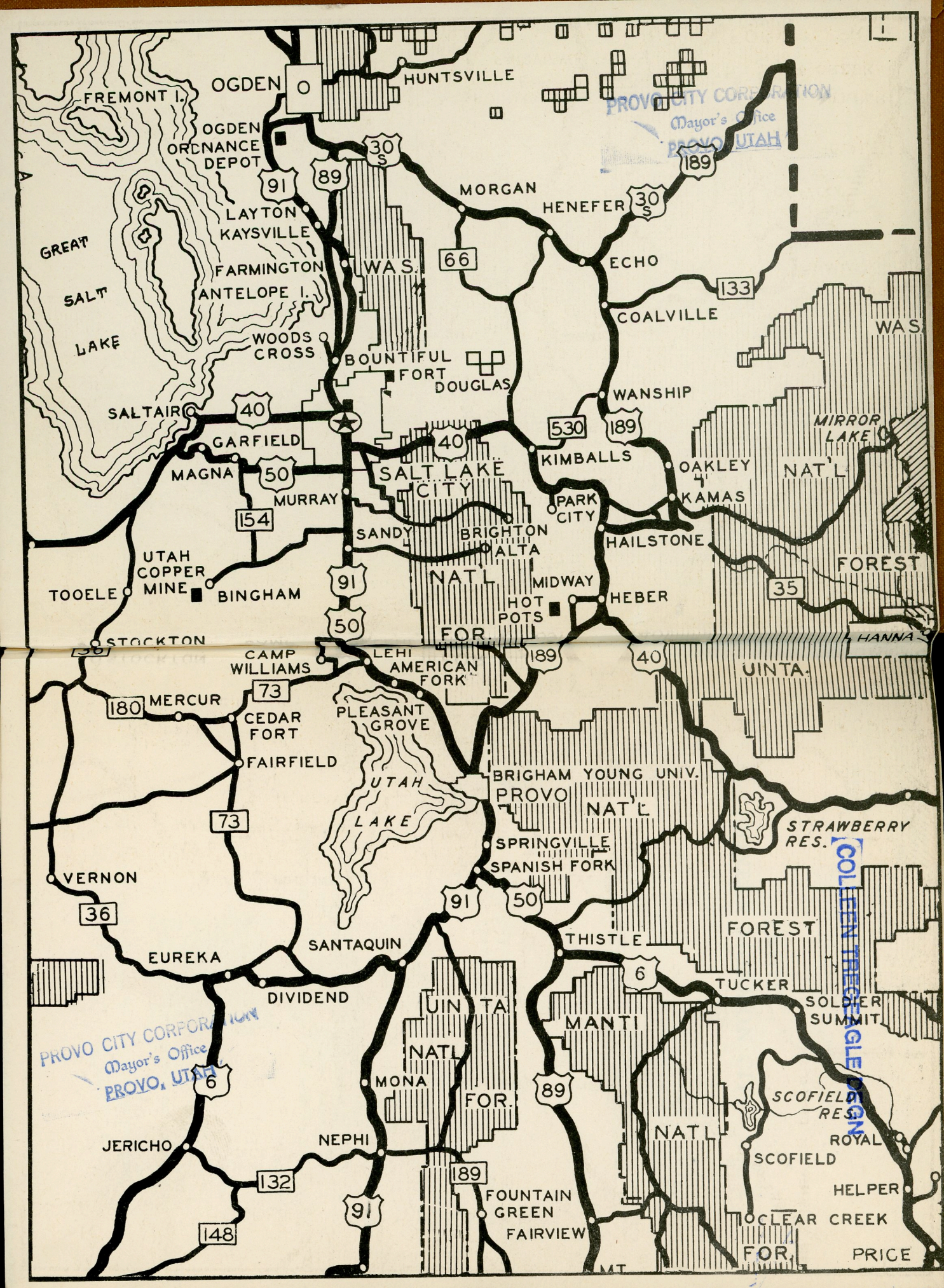
PIONEER MORMON CITY



AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES

Provo

PIONEER MORMON CITY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FARMINGTON
ANTELOPE I.
GREAT SALT LAKE
WOODS CROSS
BOUNTIFUL
FORT DOUGLAS
SALTAIR
GARFIELD
MAGNA
MURRAY
SALT LAKE CITY
KIMBALLS
PARK CITY
OAKLEY
KAMAS
MIRROR LAKE
NAT'L FOREST
HAILSTONE
SANDY
BRIGHTON
ALTA
UTAH COPPER MINE
BINGHAM
TOOELE
STOCKTON
MIDWAY
HOT POTS
HEBER
HANNA
CAMP WILLIAMS
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SPRINGVILLE
SPANISH FORK
VERNON
SANTAQUIN
THISTLE
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DIVIDEND
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SOLDIER SUMMIT
MANTI
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PROVO CITY CORPORATION
Mayor's Office
PROVO, UTAH
COLLEEN TREGEAGLE DESIGN

Provo

PIONEER MORMON CITY

Compiled by the Workers of the Writers' Program
of the Work Projects Administration
for the State of Utah

AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES
ILLUSTRATED

Sponsored by the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts. Co-sponsored by the Provo City Commission, the Provo Board of Education, Brigham Young University, and Provo Chamber of Commerce.

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FOREWORD

THE pioneers who builded Provo were Mormon pioneers, which means that they had a vision and the stubborn determination to realize that vision. Provo's story as written by the Utah Writers' Project captures the magnificent color and pioneer distinction that has attended the growth of this city from an Indian village to an industrial center.

We are pleased to feel that *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* is valuable and interesting not only for its depiction of a Mormon community in general, but for its specific, lively, and original detail from Provo itself. As a contribution to the literature of the fur trade, its facts about Etienne Provost are of first importance, and text and notes will arouse historians. As a picture of white colonists in conflict with Indians, its story of happenings in Utah Valley will be read with great interest; the account of the Battle Creek fight of 1849, for example, is the first detailed story of this initial Mormon conflict with the Utah Indians. Colonization of Utah Valley and Provo's determined growth develop through the pages of the volume with vivid and entertaining detail.

It is proper that the pioneer quality of Provo should be caught by the writers, for the pioneers have left us a heritage we recognize proudly. As its centennial approaches with that of the State, Provo anticipates new agricultural and industrial growth; since it was founded, the city has hardly faced a brighter future. But in that

growth the pioneer bequest will be remembered and cherished. *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* makes the yesterdays brighter in our memory.

MAURICE HARDING.
Mayor of Provo City, Utah.

PREFACE

AS A contribution to the American Guide Series, *Provo: Pioneer Mormon City* differs from many of its companion volumes in that it is a documented history written in large part from original source materials while it retains the "guide" characteristics that have universally found favor. Whether read as history or guidebook, it is felt that this story of a Mormon community will be found informative and entertaining. Many persons and institutions have given generously of their time and knowledge that the story might be written.

Special acknowledgment is made the Provo City Commission, Brigham Young University, the Provo Board of Education, and the Provo Chamber of Commerce, whose enthusiastic interest as co-sponsors made the volume possible. Former Mayor Mark Anderson and Mayor Maurice Harding, President Franklin S. Harris and Professor J. Marinus Jensen of Brigham Young University, Superintendent of Schools J. C. Moffitt, and Mr. Clayton Jenkins, Secretary of the Provo Chamber of Commerce, representing the sponsors, gave whole-hearted support throughout the enterprise.

Facilities accorded project workers by libraries in Provo and Salt Lake City contributed importantly to the book; to Miss Anna Ollerton of the Brigham Young University Library; to Mrs. Georgia Forsyth of the Provo Public Library; to Miss Julia T. Lynch of the Salt Lake Public Library; to Miss Marguerite Sinclair of the Utah

State Historical Society; and to Mr. Alvin Smith of the Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is expressed the most cordial appreciation for courtesies extended.

Cooperation by other operating units of the Work Projects Administration has been generous, especially by the Historical Records Survey, which supplied historical data, and by the Utah Art Project, which prepared maps and photographs. Editorial suggestions by Mr. Darel McConkey of the Washington office of the Writers' Program were helpful in giving final shape to the volume.

Access granted to pioneer manuscripts was of signal aid in gathering and checking many of the facts presented; to Mrs. S. Conrad Adams, the late Don Conover, Mr. Fred L. Markham, Mrs. Sarah Lewis Dixon, Mrs. L. S. Palmer, and to Mr. Sidney W. Cluff is expressed warm appreciation for permission to quote from John E. Booth's "History of the Provo Fourth Ward," Peter W. Conover's Journal, the "History of the Life of Stephen Markham," the "Biography of Jane Davis Lewis," Hosea Stout's Journal, and *The Cluff Family Journal*. We are also indebted to Mr. Robert A. Allen, State Engineer, Department of Highways, Carson City, Nevada, for use of the valuable "Reminiscences" of Abner Blackburn. No adequate return can be made for the patient help of many in Provo and Salt Lake City who gave information to project workers; among these, however, might be mentioned Mr. Thorit C. Herbertson and Mr. J. William Knight of Provo, and Mr. Hampton Godbe of Salt Lake City. Further acknowledgment of aid is made in the notes and bibliography.

The re-orientation of the role of Etienne Provost in western history has been made possible by the courtesy of Miss Louise Barry, Curator of Manuscripts, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, and of Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. To Miss Drumm we are especially indebted; her truly encyclopedic knowledge of the fur trade, and the archives of the Missouri Historical Society, generously contributed to the array of new facts presented. The late W. J. Ghent kindly read this chapter prior to publication.

Editing in the state office in Salt Lake City was based on research by the Salt Lake City staff, especially including Mrs. Vesta W. James and Mrs. Sarah L. Porter, and on field research in Provo by Mr. Clyde Fechser, Mr. Elgin Oliphant, Mrs. Bertha H. Knudsen, and Mrs. Cora L. Booth. For critical assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press, the Utah Writers' Project is deeply indebted to Mayor Maurice Harding, Professor J. Marinus Jensen, Mr. Clayton Jenkins, Mr. Mark Anderson, and Mr. A. William Lund, Assistant Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It is believed that the book is accurate in its facts and interpretations, but the possibility of error is cheerfully acknowledged, and substantiated corrections will be appreciated. Population figures used are from the 1940 census except where marked with an asterisk; at the suggestion of the Bureau of Census, asterisked figures for certain unincorporated towns have been derived from the 1930 estimates published in the 1939 edition of the Rand McNally Commercial Atlas.

DALE L. MORGAN
State Supervisor.

GRACE WINKLEMAN
Editor.

PROVO, Pioneer Mormon City

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GENERAL INFORMATION

Population: 18,071.

Railroads: Union Railroad Depot, 6th South and 3rd West Sts., for Union Pacific R.R., and Denver & Rio Grande Western R.R.; Orem Depot, 95 West Center St., for Salt Lake and Utah Ry. (electric interurban).

Bus Lines: Orem Depot, 95 West Center St., for Burlington Trailways, Rio Grande Trailways, and Salt Lake and Utah Ry. bus line; Union Pacific Station, 99 N. 1st West St., for Union Pacific and Santa Fe Trail busses.

Airports: Training airport, 2 m. W. of business district on Center St.

Taxis: Zone rates, 25c and up for one to five passengers.
Busses: Four routes, 5c fare, no transfers needed. Does not operate on Sundays or holidays.

Traffic Regulations: Standard traffic signals in business district; R. turn not permitted on red lights; no U-turns at semaphores; parking limit, 2 hours in business district, 9-6; no restrictions in residential district. Speed limit: 25 m.p.h. in residential district, 20 m.p.h. in business district or near schools.

Street Order: All streets numbered from intersection of University Ave. and Center St. Streets running west named 1st West, 2nd West, etc.; east, south, and north streets similarly named.

Accommodations: Three hotels; rates 50c to $2.50 per day; five tourist camps, rates $1 to $4.50 per day per cabin.

Information Service: Chamber of Commerce, 234 West Center St.
Hospitals: Utah Valley Hospital, 5th West and 10th North St., 65 beds.

Motion Picture Houses: Five.

Concert Halls: Utah Stake Tabernacle, 1st South and University Ave.; Joseph Smith Auditorium, Brigham Young University, University Ave. and 5th North St.; Provo High School, 3rd West and Center Sts.

Radio Stations: KOVO (1240 kc.).

Golf: Provo Municipal Golf Course, 8th South St. and University Ave.; 9 holes; greens fees, 35c weekdays, 50c Sun. and holidays.

Tennis: Brigham Young University (upper campus), 12 courts; Sowiette Park, 5th North and 4th West, 2 courts, lighted for night play; 3 clay courts, rear. Memorial Park, 8th East and Center Sts., 2 courts; open, free.

Boating: Utah Lake, at mouth of Provo river; speed boat rental 25c per person, rowboats $1 per day, outboard motor boats, $1.50 per day. Excursion boat, for parties of 8 or more, $40 per trip.

Swimming: Sowiette Park, 5th West and 5th North Sts., open-air pool, cold water, free; Park Ro Sha, 5 m. south on US 91; Saratoga Springs, 24.2 m. west side of Utah Lake (*see Tour 2*), warm water, adm. 25c; Luke's and Schneitter's Hot Pots, Midway (*see Tour 4*), adm. 25c to 50c.

Dancing: Utahna, 1st South and 1st West Sts., 50c per couple; Rainbow Gardens, University Ave. and 11th North St., 50c per couple.

Softball: Farrer Junior High School, 6th East and Center Sts.; Harmon Park, 8th East and 2nd South Sts.; Depot Grounds, 7th South and 3rd West Sts.; Franklin School, 3rd South and 6th West Sts.; Dixon Junior High School, 7th West and 2nd North Sts.; Timpanogos Ball Park, 5th North and 4th West Sts.; University Stadium, University Hill, adm. free; amateur leagues.

Baseball: Industrial League, semi-professional, Class D; American Legion League, amateur; played at Timpanogos Ball Park, 5th North and 4th West Sts., adm. 25c and 35c.

Basketball: Recreational, Commercial, and Industrial Leagues; played at Provo High School, 3rd West and Center Sts.

College Sports: Mountain States Conference football; adm. $1 and $1.50, season, Sept. to Nov. Basketball, Mountain States Conference, adm. 75c to $1; games played in Women's Gymnasium, 5th North and University Ave. Track, Western Division Track Meet, May, Y Stadium; Invitational Track Meet, last Fri. and Sat. in April, Y Stadium.

Hunting and Fishing: Trout fishing in Provo River and nearby streams; Utah Lake, carp, catfish, bass; duck hunting on Utah Lake; pheasant hunting in lowlands; deer hunting in nearby mountains; fees, $2 fishing, $3 hunting, $4 resident for both; $3 non-resident fishing; $10 non-resident bird and fowl hunting; $15 non-resident deer hunting. Elk hunting requires special permit.

PROVO, Pioneer Mormon City

Skeet and Trapshooting: Provo Wild Life Federation Skeet Grounds, Utah Lake and Center St., 3 m. west of town, fees $1.25 per round of 25 shots, open Sunday a.m. in summer.

Pistol and Rifle Ranges: Basement of Armory, 48 North 1st West St.; City Dumping grounds, 3 m. on Springville road; admittance by membership only.

Boxing and Westling: Park Ro Sha, 5 m. south on US 91; adm. $1 for adults, 25c for children.

Skiing: Vivian Park, 12 m. up Provo Canyon; Hobble Creek Canyon, east of Springville; Aspen Grove on Timpanogos Cave route.

Ice Skating: Utah Lake, Timpanogos Ball Park, 5th North and 4th West Sts., adm. 10c; Harmon Park, 8th East and 2nd South Sts., free; Vivian and Wildwood Parks, 12 m. up Provo Canyon, adm. free.

Annual Events: Easter Sunday Sunrise Service on Y mountain or on shores of Utah Lake; Brigham Young University Annual Invitational Relay Carnival, and Posture Parade of Utah High School Girls, last Sat. in April; Boat Regatta, Utah Lake, July 4; Mount Timpanogos Community Hike, middle of July; Annual Softball Tournament, latter part of Aug.; Kiddies Karnival, middle of Aug.; May Day Health Celebration; Utah County Fair, late Sept.; Community Christmas Celebration.

I

PROVO—TODAY AND LONG AGO

BETWEEN precipitous Wasatch Mountain peaks and the glinting waters of Utah Lake, Provo stands a substantial monument to the foresight and faith of its pioneers. Provo has swung from its original objective—a self-sustaining agricultural community—to become an educational and industrial center, but nothing can erase the hallmark of the early settler. His hand is seen in the wide, tree-shaded streets, the aging adobe houses, the flowering gardens. Fertile farms, water-filled canals, and well-tended orchards memorialize pioneer faith and energy.

Etched upon the mountains are shore-like terraces of ancient Lake Bonneville. During Pleistocene times the whole of Utah Valley lay submerged under hundreds of feet of water.[1] For thousands of years the lake retreated under evaporation and drainage, each recession marked by wave-cut terraces or "benches." Streams, tumbling down from the snowy peaks, fed tons of rich mountain soil to the lake. The lake halted several times before reaching its present level. After cutting its way out of the rim of mountains surrounding it, the waters rushed through Red Rock Pass in Idaho to the Snake River. During this period the lake waters dropped 400 feet from the Bonneville to the Provo terrace. Here the waters rested until a severe dry period caused another drop in the water level. The lake continued to drop until it reached its present level, and only Utah Lake, Great Salt Lake, and rapidly van-

ishing Sevier Lake remain of the ancient Lake Bonneville.

Long before the white man set foot upon the lake shores, Indians made their homes in the valley. Evidence of early Pueblo culture has been uncovered in ancient "mounds." Round in shape, the mounds varied from 40 to 60 feet in diameter, and from 6 to 10 feet in height. In leveling the mounds, skeletons and artifacts were removed, and many of them are in the Brigham Young University museum. Petroglyphs have been found in a cave above Lincoln Beach, on the southwest shore of Utah Lake. The early Pueblo peoples disappeared, and by the time of the Spanish *padres*, the Shoshoni Ute controlled the region.

Ute and Paiute Indians inhabited the great intermontane area between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada. Each band had its own hunting and fishing grounds, but economic areas sometimes overlapped, causing friction and wars. Escalante encountered a tribe of "Lagunas" in Utah Valley, though "Lagunas" is evidently a Spanish rather than Ute name. Julian H. Steward refers to the tribe as "Tumpa nogots (tumpi, rock, tpanogos, water mouth i.e. canyon tots, people)."[2] Other names were "Nung-a-pa-cants" (lake shore Indians), and "Pa-ga-vants" (dwellers by the lake).[3]

The Timpanogots were found by Escalante possessed of "wonderful gentleness and willingness to receive our proposals."[4] Farnham wrote that the "Timpanigos Yutas are a noble race, very friendly to Americans; and brave and hospitable. . . . Their first and constant greeting is, 'Kache winay-marah any' (very good American). . . . [My friend, Dr. Lyman] traveled through their country with one of their head chiefs, named Wah-car-rah . . . the very beau-ideal of nature's nobility."[5] The Timpanogots, as a clan, have become extinct, though some of the Timpanogots blood may run in the veins of Indians on the Ute reservation at Whiterocks in the Uinta Basin.

At the time of the American Revolution, Spanish explorers were venturing northward from Santa Fé. Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Father Francisco Atanasio Dominguez are the first white men known to have laid eyes upon the Timpanogots and Utah Valley. The Escalante party, consisting of Juan Pedro Cisneros, Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, Joaquin Lain, Simon Luzero, Andres Muniz, Antonio Lucrecio Muniz, Lorenzo de Olivares, and Juan de Aguilar, with Indian guides and retainers, left Santa Fé on July 29, 1776, in search of a route to Monterey on the West Coast. Journeying up through Colorado, the party turned west in September, crossed the Green River, and by way of the Duchesne and Strawberry Rivers, Diamond Fork, and Spanish Fork River, they arrived in Utah Valley September 23, 1776.

The turbulent mountain streams, the fertile valley, and the snow-capped peaks frozen against the blue sky were thus mirrored in Escalante's journal:

> The 'Valley of Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis' [is] surrounded by the peaks of the Sierra; from which flow four rivers, which flow through and water it, until they enter the lake in the middle of it. The plain of the valley extends from southeast to northwest, sixteen Spanish leagues [38.56 miles] . . . and from the northeast to southwest ten or twelve leagues; it is all clean land, and with the exception of the marshy places that water it along the shores of the lake, very good for planting. From the four rivers that water it, the first flows from the south, and is the Aguas Calientes [Spanish Fork], in whose broad plains is sufficient cultivable land for two large villages. The second following the first [Hobble Creek], three leagues to the north, and with more water than the first, could maintain one large and two small villages. This river, before entering into the lake, is divided into two branches, on whose banks are poplars and large alder trees. We named this river the San Nicholas. Three leagues and a half from this to the northwest is a river which runs

through large plains of good land for planting [Provo River]. It has more water than the two preceding ones; it has larger groves and plenty of good land if irrigated, for two and even three villages. We . . . named it the Rio de San Antonio de Padua. To the fourth [American Fork] river, we did not go, although we saw its groves. It is to the northwest of San Antonio, and as we saw it, has on each side of it much level ground. They told us that it had as much water as the others, and so I am satisfied we could establish there some ranches and towns. We named it the river of Santa Ana.

Aside from these rivers, there are in the plain many pools of good water, and several fountains which flow down from the mountains. From what we have just said about the settlements, let it be understood that we wish to give to each one more land than he really needs, but if each settlement took only one league for cultivation, there would be room in the valley for as many villages of Indians as there are in New Mexico; because, although in the northerly direction we gave to it the above dimensions (though it has more), on the south it also has large spaces of good ground. There is everywhere good and abundant pasturage, and in some parts flax and hemp grow in such abundance that it seems to have been planted.

The climate here is good, and having suffered so much from cold since leaving the river of San Buenaventura [Green River], we found this valley very comfortable both day and night. Aside from all these advantages, in the range that surrounds the valley there is plenty of wood and timber, plenty of shelter, water and grass, to raise herds of cattle and horses; that is, in the northern, northeast, east and southern parts. In the south and southwest it has two other extended valleys, also with abundant grass and sufficient water. To one of these extends the lake. It is six leagues wide and fifteen leagues long; it extends to the northwest, and, as we are told, is connected by a river [Jordan], with a larger lake [Great Salt Lake]. This lake of the Timpanogotzis abounds in many kinds of good fish, and in geese and other waterfowl that we had not time to see.[6]

The valley and the Indians made a profound impression upon the priests, who promised to return. Proceeding south, they decided to return to Santa Fé instead of pushing on to the Pacific Coast. The lateness of the season made further exploration hazardous, and they were anxious to establish missions among the Timpanogots. Although the missions never materialized, a trade route was established, and Spanish traders penetrated to the vicinity of Utah Lake.

A Manuel Mestes, it is reported in New Mexican archives, visited the valley at least once, in 1805. Reference is made to Mestes' success in reducing the Yutas to peace, and in recovering the Yutas' stolen horses from the Comanches. In 1813 a trading expedition, consisting of seven men under the command of Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia, also visited the region. Five of their number related having proceeded to Timpanogos, where they had camped for three days among the Yutas. The Indians wanted to sell slaves, and when the Spaniards refused, the Yutas slaughtered their horses. The Spaniards fled.[7]

Evidently, then, previous to 1813 some trade had been carried on by the Spanish and the Indians in the Great Basin area. After that time a continuous commerce in furs and slaves was conducted. No wagons were taken through to California by the Spaniards or Mexicans; and thus the "Old Spanish Trail" never really extended west of the Utah Valley area. Spanish traders had been active in the south, but now American fur trappers rode through the Rocky Mountains in quest of beaver. They brought Utah Valley a colorful chapter in its history.

II

ETIENNE PROVOST

ORGANIZATION of a fur company by General William Henry Ashley and Major Andrew Henry in 1822 at St. Louis, Missouri, brought trappers into the little-known intermountain region. After fierce Indian encounters on the upper Missouri River, Ashley's men abandoned that northern country. In 1823-24 they found their way across South Pass into the Great Basin, one detachment wintering in Cache Valley in 1824-25. The adventurer from whom Provo took its name has long been thought to have been one of these Ashley men, and possibly to have made the rediscovery of South Pass after the Astorians. Many additional facts about Etienne Provost[1] make it possible now to examine in new and revelatory detail his mountain years.

Etienne Provost was born in Canada about 1782, the son of Albert and Marianne (Menard) Provost.[2] Of his early life almost nothing is known. He first appears in the annals of the fur trade in connection with the expedition led to the headwaters of the Arkansas River by Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Jules De Mun. The expedition successfully trapped and traded from 1815 to the spring of 1817, when the men were taken by the Spaniards to Santa Fé and there imprisoned.[3] In St. Louis, September 25, 1817, Provost made an affidavit concerning this imprisonment;[4] he with the others had been permitted, each with his worst horse, to return home after forty-eight days in

prison. After 1817 he disappears for a time from the records of the fur trade.

It was long thought, though on the most doubtful evidence, that Provost joined Ashley's men in 1822 or 1823, and was associated with them in the hazardous adventures near the Mandan villages on the Missouri River.[5] He may well have been in this country at this time, for a little later, when he reached the mountains, there was numbered among his party one of the Hudson's Bay Company deserters of 1822 who, Alexander Ross reported in October, 1824, had evidently "reached the American posts on the Yellowstone and Big Horn with much fur."[6] But there is no evidence that Provost was ever with Ashley, and if in the year 1823 he was operating in the same country as Ashley's men, he soon turned his face in a new direction. With his partner he journeyed by the Santa Fé Trail to New Mexico, to trap the "upper country" north of Taos.

Little has been known of Provost, but even less has been known of his partner. The record is not even assured of his first name. Some have wondered whether he were not Michel LeClerc, who was employed by Ezekiel Williams in 1812, and who was later with the men of Philibert imprisoned with the Chouteau-De Mun party at Santa Fé in 1817.[7] It would seem more likely that Provost's associate was Francois LeClerc, of the Astorian party.[8] One eminent authority concurs in this suggestion. "There were so many LeClairs, LeCleres, and LeClercs in the fur trade," Miss Stella Drumm says, "that it is almost impossible to identify any of them at any particular place or time. My conclusion is that the LeClerc who was associated with Provost was Francois, son of Antoine LeClerc and an Indian (Potawatomi), and brother of Antoine LeClerc, fils, founder of Davenport, Iowa. This Antoine was born December 15, 1797, probably at St. Joseph's fort in southwestern Michigan, and baptized in the old

Cathedral here in St. Louis, November 29, 1815. He, like his father, was an interpreter for Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent for the Sac and Fox Indians. The father was born in Montreal, Canada, and located as a trader and blacksmith at Parc Vache, near Terre Coupee, in southwestern Michigan. In 1800 he located at Milwaukee, and removed therefrom in 1809 to Peoria, Illinois. In 1812 he was one of the families removed from Peoria. He then came to St. Louis and later settled in St. Charles County, Missouri, near Portage des Sioux. He had two Indian wives and two French ones. The latter he married in St. Charles. He died in Portage des Sioux about 1828-29. It is most probable that Francois LeClerc, after returning to St. Louis with the other Astorians, signed up in 1815 with the Chouteau-De Mun expedition. After the release of that party from prison, LeClerc may have remained in the country and later joined with Provost. Or he may not have been one of the 21 men imprisoned, but instead a member of one of the detached parties equipped by Chouteau and De Mun and sent to different parts of the 'upper country' (meaning north of Taos)."[9]

Quickly the partners began energetic operations in this new region. Young Ceran St. Vrain, just beginning his own notable career in the fur trade, from "Touse provence of New Mexico" wrote Bernard Pratte, on April 27, 1824: "After a long and trublesum voiage of five months we have at Length retch this place it is now 37 days Since we arived and we have Sold but verry fue goods & goods is at a verry redused price at present. I am in hopes when the hunters comes in from there hunt that I well Sell out to Provoe & Leclere, if I doe not succeed to Sel out to them and othere hunters, my intenshion is to buy up goo[d] Articles that will Sout [suit] the market of Sonora to purchess mulls; but I Shall first doe all I can to mak arragement with Provoe & Leclere to furnish them

with goods. Should I Succeed thare is no doubt but it will [be] a verry profitable buisness. . . ."[10]

St. Vrain may not have achieved this "verry profitable buisness," but by the end of summer Provost and LeClerc had packed their goods on their horses and with a company of twenty or thirty men had ridden into the north. Other fur traders were venturing into the same country, among them the Robidoux brothers, Antoine and Joseph.[11]

Unable to conceive that Provost could have gone to New Mexico and thence come into Utah, history has had a puzzling time to account for his movements. It is interesting to see how Provost became incorrectly identified as an Ashley man, and to have been thought by some the discoverer of South Pass.

Writing his notable *American Fur Trade of the Far West* in 1902, Hiram Chittenden found that Provost had been in the Great Basin at the same time as the Ashley men, and assumed that therefore he must have been an Ashley employee or associate. Of Provost's adventurings he had found a "tradition" in a letter by W. Marshall Anderson, written in 1860, which quoted from Anderson's 1837 letter of protest against Washington Irving's naming Great Salt Lake in honor of Captain Bonneville. "What justice, what honor can there be, in claiming the right of naming 'that wonder of the western waters' after Bonneville, when it had been found, circumambulated, and trapped on as early as 1820 [sic] by Provost? . . . The above was written at the time indicated, from my journal notes, taken down in the presence of [old mountaineers] in 1834. Provost was then 'no more' [incorrect report]. Neither praise nor censure could reach him. His survivors and brothers in the hardships and hazards of mountain life gave to him alone the credit of having discovered and made known the existence and whereabouts of that inland sea. . . ."[12]

Evidently considering that Provost must have been first to cross South Pass if accorded the honor of discovery of Great Salt Lake, Chittenden remarked, "Tradition among the traders and trappers always ascribed the discovery of this pass to Provost, and there is little doubt of the fact; but of positive truth there is none. The date of discovery was probably late in the fall of 1823."[13] Three years later, writing a brief biography of Jim Bridger, Major General Grenville M. Dodge asserted that Provost, in charge of that portion of Alexander Henry's party which included Bridger, had crossed South Pass.[14] This assertion, presumed to have been derived from "Old Gabe" himself, was taken as a confirmation of Chittenden, although an examination of Dodge's text reveals that it was rewritten from Chittenden with very little change in phraseology, and that the only additional fact provided is that the arrival of Henry at the mouth of the Yellowstone in 1823 is definitely given as August 23.

H. C. Dale, in his study of the Ashley expeditions, carefully qualified all statements he made about Provost's movements, and doubted his discovery of South Pass, yet for lack of other evidence, he also assumed Provost to have led or accompanied an Ashley vanguard into Utah.[15] It thus became possible for J. Cecil Alter to write in 1925, "The original evidence that Provot, Bridger, and others discovered the Pass at this time is not as conclusive as one might wish, in spite of a prevailing and accredited tradition to this effect. The only alternative that has been put forth, however, is that Thomas Fitzpatrick, who had been told of the existence of the Pass by the Crows that fall, led the entire party through it in the spring of 1824, including Provot and Bridger."[16] It has since been discovered, from James Clyman's narrative, that Jedediah Smith led across South Pass this Ashley company which had set out from Fort Kiowa in September, 1823,[17] but

until now Etienne Provost was still unaccounted for. His actual exploit in coming to Utah from Taos is more striking than those imaginary exploits with which he has been credited.

It would be valuable to know when Provost and LeClerc left Taos, and when they entered southeastern Utah. While Ashley's men were crossing South Pass and going on first to Green River and then to Bear River, the men from New Mexico were finding their way north and west into the Uinta Basin[18] by perhaps much the same route as Escalante. Unknowing of each other's presence, the rival trappers were only eighty miles apart, separated by the white-crowned peaks of the Uinta Mountains. If Provost went immediately west from the Basin into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, he may have come upon that lake before Jim Bridger floated down Bear River in his bull boat to become the historic discoverer. Later there were trappers who thought Provost had been first to see the salt lake, and the Jordan River for some years was called "Proveau's Fork";[19] perhaps in mountain legend there persisted a tradition of Etienne Provost's adventurings in the autumn of this year. The evidence that the gifted mountain man may have come so far west in 1824 is mixed in the contradictory stories of a massacre of his company by the Snake Indians.

Writing his superiors in July, 1825, Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company narrated the reason for that massacre. In the summer of 1824 some of Alexander Ross's motley H.B.C. party had stolen horses from the Snakes; in consequence, some of Ross's men had been plundered and "shortly after," continued Ogden, "a party of 7 Americans and one of our deserters fall on the Snakes Camp, and the Snakes lost no time in killing them all this . . . has greatly irritated the Americans against us, and they would most willingly shoot us if they dared."[20]

Warren A. Ferris, who came to the mountains in 1830, heard around the campfires the tale of this massacre:

> There is one evil genius among [the Snake or Shoshone Indians], called the *"Bad Gocha,"* (mauvais gauche—bad lefthanded one) who fell in with a party of trappers, led by a well-known mountaineer, Mr. E. Proveau, on a stream flowing into the Big Lake that now bears his name, several years since. He invited the whites to smoke the calumet of peace with him, but insisted that it was contrary to his medicine to have any metallic [object] near while smoking. Proveau, knowing the superstitious whims of the Indians, did not hesitate to set aside his arms, and allow his men to follow his example; they then formed a circle by sitting indiscriminately in a ring, and commenced the ceremony; during which, at a preconcerted signal, the Indians fell upon them, and commenced the work of slaughter with their knives, which they had concealed under their robes and blankets. Proveau, a very athletic man, with difficulty, extricated himself from them, and with three or four others, alike fortunate, succeeded in making his escape; the remainder of the party of fifteen were all massacred.—Notwithstanding this infernal act, its savage author has been several times in the camp of the whites; but his face not being recognized, he has thus far escaped the death his treacherous murder so richly merits.[21]

Although the Snake country lay more to the north, the Snakes sometimes got into the Uinta Basin, and the massacre could have occurred at any time after Provost and LeClerc reached the Basin. Surely it happened in the fall of 1824,[22] and probably west of the Wasatch Mountains; if Ferris is right, on the Jordan River, and therefore probably near the site of Lehi or of Salt Lake City.[23] The archives of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis note the loss by "Provoux & Le Clere" of seven men in 1824 on the "Waters of Uta Lake," and an eighth man in 1825 on "Weber's fork."[24] Some have thought that the massacre occurred on the Green River, and there is a little evidence for this, since William Becknell, leading a company north from Taos in November, 1824, heard that some of the Indians he encountered had murdered several of Provost's men and robbed the remainder,[25] while it was reported in 1831 by William Gordon that in 1824 "Eight men were killed at one time by the Snakes on the waters of the Colorado, who were in the employ of Provost & LeClerc.[26]

So much importance attaches to this murderous experience with the Snakes because there is no other clue to the trail-blazing of Etienne Provost during the important autumn of 1824 when the men of the fur brigade were opening Utah to history. Regardless of whether he came so far west in 1824, however, Provost soon came back to the Uinta Basin. Perhaps LeClerc had been trapping there all the time, and perhaps the experience with the Snakes brought Etienne in flight back to join his partner. At all events, Provost and LeClerc wintered at the mouth of White River, where trappers of the American Fur Company wintered in 1830-31,[27] and Kit Carson in 1832-33.[28] In the spring Provost took some fifteen men west, trapping the tributaries of the Duchesne River, and perhaps following the Spanish Fork or Provo River to Utah Valley.

Meantime, Peter Skene Ogden was coming southeastward from Flathead Post in Montana, accompanied by another great adventurer, Jedediah Smith. On reaching Bear River, Ogden and Smith separated, the latter ascending the river in search of his American comrades while the British leader followed Bear River down to its mouth in Great Salt Lake. Only three days after reaching the salt lake, on May 23, 1825, writes Ogden, "a party of 15 Canadians and Spanjards headed by one Provost and Francois an Iroquois Chief who deserted from our party two Years since joined us, we were surprised of seeing them, and still more so when they informed me, that the

Spanish Settlement where they had received their Supplies was not more than 15 days march with loaded horses. This place is called Taas distant about 100 Miles from St fe and is now supplied with goods from St. Louis overland in waggons by the Americans."[29] Where met these two great mountain men who have left their names to Utah cannot be determined exactly, but it was probably in or very near the mountain valley east of Ogden called Ogden's Hole.

Provost seems to have turned back to join his partner in the Uinta Basin. Perhaps, meeting a British company and hearing of an American company nearby, he felt the region was overrun. But the trappers now were everywhere; he returned to the Uinta Basin only to encounter, the first week of June, another company of Ashley men under William Sublette. He may possibly have accompanied that party to the Ashley rendezvous on Henry's Fork, though this is not certain.[30]

With loaded packs of beaver, Provost and his partner must, sometime in the summer, have turned back to Taos. Again Provost disappears from sight at least for a year. His partner, LeClerc, disappears forever. Only the harsh accounting of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, in 1831, commemorates his passing:[31]

Dates	Names	No. killed	By what tribe	Place	By whom employed
1825	Le clerc				
1825	Not known	2	Not known	Headwaters, Kansas River	Selves

Perhaps Provost now returned to the mountains. The historians have thought that he was at Ashley's rendezvous of 1826, at Great Salt Lake, though solely on the authority of the "gaudy liar," Jim Beckwourth, who relates an adventure in company with "Provo and Jarvey [Jean Baptiste Gervais]."[32] Provost next turns up in St.

Louis. Hiram Chittenden, the historian of the fur trade, relates that Provost arrived in St. Louis ahead of Ashley, and forthwith entered into negotiations with Bernard Pratte and Company, an arrangement by which he was to conduct a rival expedition to the mountains the following year, but that Ashley nipped this opposition in the bud by offering Pratte and Company a share in his next expedition.[33] On December 9, 1826, nevertheless, B. Berthold wrote Jean P. Cabanne from Fort Lookout: "It is with pleasure I have read and returned to you the instructions. I dare not advise anything about the project with Ashley. However, it seems to me that it would be well for us to assure ourselves of Provost, who is the soul [leading spirit?] of the trappers of the Mountains [l'ame des chasseurs des Montagnes]. It will hurt us. Even if it was only to hinder the meeting between him and the Robidoux I would say it seems that he should be made sure of, unless you have other plans."[34]

Historians have thought, because Provost now sought backing from Ashley's rival, the American Fur Company, that Provost and Ashley must have quarreled at the 1826 rendezvous of the trappers near the site of Ogden. But there is no evidence that Provost was ever associated with Ashley, and if he was a rival from the beginning, and if he had lost his partner through death, it was only natural that he should seek new backing from a firm antagonistic to Ashley.

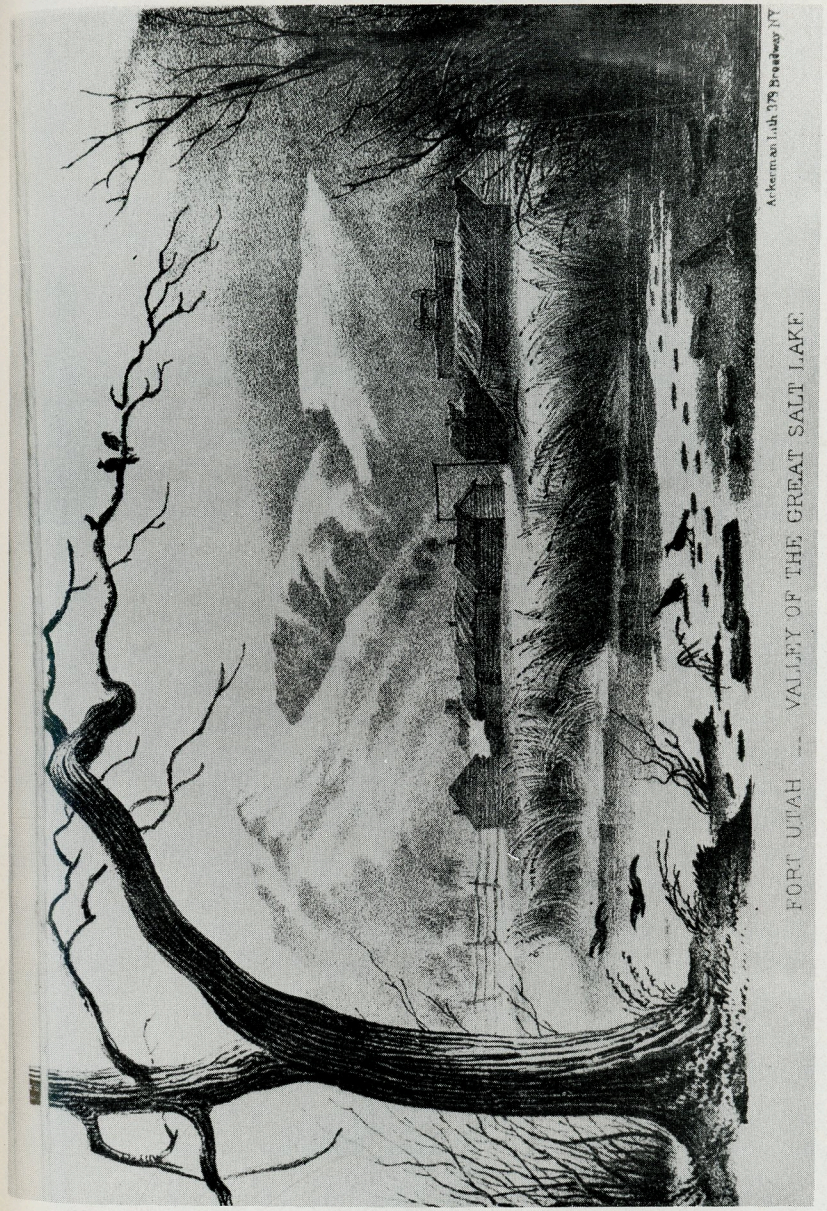
So Etienne Provost abandoned the life of the free trapper for service with the great American Fur Company, now looking toward the mountains from which, in the next decade, it would drive all opposition. The years that follow occasionally yield up some word of him. In the autumn of 1828 he was sent to search for trappers of the American Fur Company; in 1830 he was listed among the hunters at Fort Union; and in 1831 he was listed by the

Company as one of its boatmen.[35] In June, 1832, the arrival of Provost with supplies from Fort Union was anxiously awaited by the parties of the American Fur Company in Pierre's Hole, in the shadow of the Tetons. Provost came at last in August, in company with Lucien Fontenelle and some fifty men.[36] Again in 1834 his name reappears, in the *Missouri Republican:*

> FROM THE MOUNTAINS.—A gentleman who reached this city yesterday from the Mountains has sent us a note, in which it is stated, for the information of the friends of those who accompanied Mr. Provost (of the American Fur Company), "that his party had not been attacked by, nor had they a fight with the Pawnee Indians last spring," as was reported. Mr. W. L. Sublette and Capt. [M. S.] Cerre have perhaps arrived at Independence by this time—the former with 60 or 70 packs, and the latter with about 20 packs of Beaver. Mr. Provost intended leaving the rendezvous on Ham's fork of the Rio Colorado, six or seven days after the writer of the note, who left about the 10th of July. Last spring the writer visited Fort Vancouver, an establishment of the Hudson's Bay Co., situated 90 miles above the mouth of the Columbia; he left there on the 31st May, and lying by 37 days reached Independence on the 16th of August.[37]

The adventurer from whom Provo took its name next appears from the shadows with news of the appalling smallpox plague that raged along the upper Missouri River through the winter of 1837-38. On February 25, 1838, J. A. Hamilton wrote Pierre Chouteau, Jr., from St. Louis, "Provost arrived last evening and this morning we have been perusing the melancholy details of plague, pestilence and devastation, ruined hopes and blasted expectations."[38] The smallpox wiped out whole tribes; the upper country never recovered from the tragedy reported to civilization by Provost.

In the spring of 1839 Provost was engaged for the expedition led by the French scientist, Joseph Nicolas



WILLIAM LEWIS HOUSE, Built in 1859 of adobes except front wall of brick.

Nicollet, to map the plateau country between the upper Mississippi and upper Missouri Rivers. Nicollet's second in command was the young army lieutenant, John Charles Frémont, for whom this expedition was to be an all-important stepping-stone. The 57-year-old *homme de montagnes* could have told, and perhaps did tell, the 26-year-old topographical engineer a great many things about the western country Frémost was soon to "explore." Departing from St. Louis on April 4, 1839, the expedition spent the spring, summer, and much of the fall in the upper country. Frémont, with a detachment, reached Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi early in November, but here was frozen in, and was not able to continue on until the spring of 1840. Possibly, though this is not certain, Provost was also held at Prairie du Chien.[39]

On August 14, 1829, in St. Louis, Etienne Provost married Marie Rose Sallé, *dit* Lajoie, and one child, Marie, lived to majority.[40] Perhaps it was this daughter who went in 1843 with the now aging mountain man when he accompanied the great naturalist, John James Audubon, on his trip up the Missouri River to Fort Union. While he painted the animals of the mountains and plains, Audubon listened to the lore of this gifted man, and now and then wrote in his journals the things of which he was told.[41]

Etienne seems to have gone no more to the mountains after 1846 or 1847.[42] He settled down in St. Louis with his family, and it was there, on July 3, 1850, the year after the founding of the city called by his name, that he died.[43] His will, probated on July 24, 1850, left to his wife all his property, including lands in Iowa Territory and in St. Louis.[44] By the time of his death the day of the mountain man was done. The Mormons in Utah Valley, renaming their Fort Utah "Provo City," and fixing the name "Provo" on the stream called Timpanogos, had no

concern for the death so far away. The old mountain man was enwrapped in legend almost before his grave was filled. By 1855 the story was current that some years earlier a Canadian trapper named Provo, "at the head of twenty-four of his fellow-trappers, had routed a force of a thousand Indians whom he cut to pieces, but with the loss of his own life towards the end of the engagement,"[45] and before many more years Porter Rockwell, famous old Mormon scout, was to tell Samuel Auerbach of trading posts Etienne once had maintained near the mouth of the Provo on Utah Lake and between Utah Lake and Great Salt Lake, near the Jordan River.[46] So legend enshrouded the man. Only gradually has history clothed him in flesh and blood.

Other adventurers than Provost march through Provo's era of the mountain men. From Ashley's rendezvous of 1826, at Great Salt Lake, Jedediah Smith took south a company of seventeen men. Circling the eastern shore of Utah Lake, he made his way up the Sevier River, which he assumed emptied into "Little Uta Lake," and went on south and west to California.[47] After returning the next spring from California over the central Nevada deserts, Smith made another trip south, ascending the Weber and then following the Provo to Utah Valley, where he traded for some horses. Continuing his journey, he lost most of his men to the Mohave Indians. Remembered as one of the greatest of the pathfinders, he went on to other adventures in California and Oregon, and in 1831 was killed by Comanches in southwestern Kansas.[48]

Trappers made use of the paths broken by Smith, and the way between Utah Lake and southern California after 1831 became a well-defined trail. John C. Frémont, heading northeast after his explorations of 1843-44, followed this trail up through Utah and on May 25, 1844, reached the shores of Utah Lake. "In the cove of mountains along

its eastern shores," he writes, "the lake is bordered by a plain, where the soil is generally good, and in greater part fertile; watered by a delta of prettily timbered streams. This would be an excellent locality for stock farms; it is generally covered with good bunch grass, and would abundantly produce the ordinary grains."[49] He continued eastward through Spanish Fork Canyon on May 27. The fresh water of Utah Lake puzzled him—he thought it an arm of Great Salt Lake. Not until his third expedition, in 1845, did he discover that they were separate bodies of water.

III

ARRIVAL OF THE MORMONS

FREMONT'S reports, and those of other travelers, meantime, made a deep impression upon the Mormons leading their church out of turbulent Illinois. It was necessary for them to find a place remote from all other settlements if they would worship as they chose. The Far West beckoned.

The Mormon pioneer company of 1847 carried west no settled idea of location; sites in Bear River Valley and Great Salt Lake Valley had been most frequently mentioned, but Brigham Young evidently kept an open mind and listened attentively to the mountain men he encountered along the way. On June 28 he encountered the far-ranging Jim Bridger, who pictured for him the features of the whole intermountain West. William Clayton reports his opinion of Utah Valley:

> There is no timber on the Utah Lake only on the streams which empty into it. In the outlet of the Utah Lake which runs into the salt lake there is an abundance of blue grass and red and white clover . . . the Utah tribe of Indians inhabit the region around the Utah Lake and are a bad people. If they catch a man alone they are sure to rob and abuse him if they don't kill him, but parties of men are in no danger. They are mostly armed with guns. . . . All the valleys abound with persimmons and grapes which will make the best kind of wines. He never saw any grapes on the Utah Lake but there are plenty of cherries and berries of several kinds. He thinks the Utah Lake is the best country in the vicinity of the Salt Lake and the country is still better the farther south we go. . . . There is plenty of timber on all the streams and mountains and abundance of fish in the streams. There is timber all around the Utah Lake and plenty of good grass; not much of the wild sage only in patches. Wild flax grows in most of the valleys and they are the richest lands. . . . The Indians south of the Utah Lake and this side the desert raise corn, wheat and other kinds of grain and produce in abundance. The Utah's abound more on the west of the mountains near the salt lake than on the east side, ten to one, but we have no need to fear them for we can drive the whole of them in twenty-four hours but he would not kill them, he would make slaves of them.[1]

As the Mormons cut their way through the Wasatch Mountains in the Donner path of 1846, Brigham Young must have weighed what he had heard of Utah Valley—a paradisaical region, but with Indian complications. By his instructions a letter was written at 5 a.m. on July 21, the day Orson Pratt found his way into Salt Lake Valley, directing Pratt, on emerging from the mountains, to bear a little to the north in search of a site of settlement, for the Utes, he thought, were likely to be "a little tenacious about their choice lands" in Utah Valley, and it would be well to keep in Salt Lake Valley, a no-man's-land separating Ute and Shoshone territory, until they could inform themselves as to the disposition of the Indians.[2] Initial Mormon settlement thus was on the site of Salt Lake City. Nevertheless, Young planned to explore all valleys, and, when opportunity permitted, establish settlements in those sufficiently well-watered.

On July 27, 1847, three days after his arrival in Salt Lake Valley, Young rode, with other church leaders, as far west as Great Salt Lake. The following day Orson Pratt from the Oquirrh Mountains looked southward down upon Utah Lake.[3] A week later Jesse C. Little, Samuel Brannan, and W. W. Willis explored the valley and spoke well of it. Albert Carrington, with two others, set out for the lake hauling a boat on wheels, but at Outlet

Canyon (Jordan Narrows) was forced to return because of a lack of teams, and men. Launching their boat on the Jordan River, the men made their way back to Salt Lake City.[4]

In December, following the planting of his wheat and rye, Parley P. Pratt, with several of the brethren, set out for Utah Lake with a boat and fish-net. "We sailed up and down the lake shore on the western side for many miles, but had only poor success in fishing. We, however, caught a few samples of mountain trout and other fish. After exploring the lake and valley for a day or two, the company returned home, and a brother Summers and myself struck westward from the foot of the lake on horseback, on an exploring tour. On this tour we discovered and partly explored Cedar Valley, and there crossed over the west mountain range [Cedar Mountains] and discovered a valley beyond [Rush Valley]; passing through which we crossed a range of hills northward and entered Tooelle Valley."[5]

Planting crops, erecting houses, and otherwise wresting a livelihood from the wilderness, the pioneers left colonization of other areas until their number was greater. Brigham Young had departed for Winter Quarters in present Nebraska to prepare the Mormons there for the long trek to Salt Lake Valley. Scattered parties found their way into Utah Valley in search of grazing land, but actual colonization waited more than a year.

On January 6, 1849, Amasa M. Lyman, Orrin P. Rockwell, George D. Grant, Jedediah M. Grant, David Fullmer, John S. Fullmer, Lewis Robison, Dimick B. Huntington, William Crosby, and George W. Boyd were selected by the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in Great Salt Lake City to go to Utah Valley "to learn its capabilities for a stock range." When the cattle went, forty or fifty men were to go with them. Isaac Higbee and William

Wadsworth were at the same time constituted a committee "to seek out suitable fishing places in the Utah Lake, establish fisheries and supply the market."[6] Amasa Lyman returned on January 12, and advised against moving stock into the district; he reported on January 20 that snow had been found to a depth of from 2½ to 4 inches, and that it had been concluded cattle would fare better in Great Salt Lake Valley.[7]

But by the end of February it had become necessary to repress depredations of the Utah Valley Indians. Hosea Stout relates that he, among others, was notified on February 28 to prepare himself to leave on the morrow for this expedition. A company of 31 was raised, the number being limited by difficulty in procuring horses. Although a force of fifty men had been anticipated, Colonel John Scott rode south with this diminished company, with orders "to take such measures as would put a final end to depredations in future." Leaving Great Salt Lake City at noon on March 1, the troop encamped for the night on Little Cottonwood Creek. From the settlements in this area four more men were enlisted. They reached Utah Valley on March 3, splitting up into two smaller troops commanded by Stout and Alexander Williams, "the better to divide and scoure the country as we did not know where the Indians were located."[8]

On entering Utah Valley, Williams' force continued up the Jordan toward Utah Lake, while Stout's company proceeded directly south to Dry Creek. Colonel Scott, with some six men, traveled between the two divisions as a liason command. Despite energetic beating of the bushes, no Indians were found, and the two companies reunited for the night on "American Creek," receiving before morning "in addition to our usual amount of bed clothes a blanket of snow some two inches deep." Sending Dimick B. Huntington and "Barney" Ward on before them, the

troop rode on to the Provo, where they found the Utes friendly but "much excited being evidently afraid of us," as Stout observed.[9] Little Chief, however, was perfectly willing to assist the Mormons, saying that a band of outlaws had done the mischief and it was good to kill them, for they deserved to die according to their own laws.[10] Encampment was made three miles up the Provo, but Little Chief's two sons, sent to guide the militia, favored a night attack before the offenders could be warned, and accordingly the punitive expedition proceeded on up the Provo to the high bench lands, traveled north a few miles, and at last dismounted, leaving the horses with a guard of ten while the remaining twenty-five men advanced on foot for the assault. After a six-mile march, the Mormon scouts located the Indian fires on the first creek south of the Provo. The whites bivouacked for the night, calling up their horses and kindling small fires to keep from freezing.[11]

At daybreak Scott divided his party into four. Hosea Stout was sent, he says, to "the farthest side to prevent them from escaping to the mountains"; Alexander Williams was ordered to the mouth of the canyon, to prevent escape in that direction; Judson Stoddard, with a few horsemen, was held in reserve on the creek in the event escape was attempted into Utah Valley; and a fourth party, led by Dimick B. Huntington, marched directly on the camp.

"They discovered us," writes Hosea Stout, "about the time we had fairely surrounded them while it was yet twilight & attempted to escape in several different directions but found themselves surrounded whereupon they commenced a long & loud speech which I afterwards learned only consisted in telling us to go away or they would fire upon us while our interperters also told them that we desired to see them and wished them to come out. The

Utah who was along with us also tried to persuade them to come out but all to no purpose."[12]

After a long interval the arrows began to fly. "From where we stood," Oliver Huntington writes, "we could not see; yet we could hear the twang of the bow string. Our orders were, every man take care of himself and as many of the enemy as we could, i.e., to fight the enemy in their own way. . . . We always shot in such haste, that nearly all our shots missed, and . . . we were a long time firing . . . skulking in the brush, looking, peaking, and trying to get a shot. We knew nothing of how many there was, but from their crying, howling, mourning, and loud talk supposed there was fifteen or twenty. The women and children were called to come out, that we wanted not to hurt them. They would not come. The first one shot was their leader. Then such crying I think white men never heard before."[13]

Hosea Stout continues the story:

> In a few moments [after commencement of battle] one of the Indians was killed and several wounded. They soon took shelter in the creek which had perpendicular banks about 4 feet high thickly set with willow which so completely shielded them that we could not see them only when they raised up to shoot at us. We were about two hours engaged with them. They fought with the most determined resolution to die rather than yield as they could often be heard to encourage each other. Sometimes they would commence to sing as if they were gambling as a token of defiance to us. Some 5 or 6 times during the engagement we ceased firing and both our interpreters & the Utah tryed to pursuade them to come out also to send out their women & children that they might be spared if they would not yield but all to no effect.
>
> Some of the Squaws were at length found couch in the water under the thick brush & were induced to come out. They were in a most deplorable situation. Having been in the water about an hour & a half, they were nearley froze. We kindled up a fire for them which rendered them more comfortable.
>
> By sending these back we soon prevailed on the rest to come

out also and soon 13 women & children came out, among the rest a lad about sixteen gave up. He had fought manfully during the engagement.

Two of the women were wounded on the head with stones which we had thrown in to the brush to ascertain where they were hid. Soon after they gave up we succeeded in killing two more men leaving only one more who immediately broke through the brush and tryed to escape to the Utah who was on the hill looking on. He was killed however before he ran far. Thus ended the battle with out one of our men even being hurt although they shot hundreds of arrows at us, some times at only a few yards distance.

Our men were perfectly calm and deliberate all the time and did not fire at random as is so common on such occasions. There was no time during the whole engagement when the men could not be easily controlled so much so that the wants of the prisoners were attended as well as circumstances would admit. As soon as they gave up they asked leave to start immediately to the City, and insisted on it not being willing to go the [to] their tribe.

This little band had separated themselves from the rest because they were determined to live by stealing from the whites while the rest were friendly and would not suffer it. They had for some time been very insolent and some of them had even shot at some of the whites. I suppose that the women were afraid of the Utahs. . . . We now returned to our camp where we found Little Chief and several Indians. He said we had done right although he felt like he could cry when he saw what a bad end these men had come to by their dishonesty. He also said we did wrong in not killing the lad for he would kill a white man yet for revenge.[14]

Oliver Huntington gives a more vivid picture of Little Chief's feelings. "When the firing ceased it was perhaps eight o'clock, the sun was high up and . . . the volleys of our guns rolled down the mountainside and lighted on Little Chief's ears, and seemed to him, with all the horrors of his own death knell. He thought, 'oh my countrymen'; those once of his own band are now being hewed down by the magic white men. His heart was filled with pity, although but a few hours previously he had signed their death warrant by sending his men to guide us . . . he

mounted his best horse and dashed up the mountainside for ten miles . . . his horse . . . was as wet as the poor squaw's who had laid in the creek. .. . The old man howled, cried, moaned, hollowed, screamed, and smote his breast. . . . He blamed himself and cursed the whites, and said it would not be good medicine for two or three [whites] to come up there alone as they had done before."[15]

From the scene of the conflict, which history has commemorated in the name Battle Creek (site of Pleasant Grove), the squaws took the bodies of the slain into the conyon above. The Mormon company arrived back in Great Salt Lake City at 2 p.m. on March 6.[16] The campaign had been successful, but the church authorities did not approve. They "deplored the fatalities attending it, not only from humanitarian considerations, but fearing probably that it would precipitate a general war, and unify all the savage bands of the vicinity. . . ."[17] Scott evidently was reprimanded for his handling of the affair, for in February, a year later, when he was ordered to raise a company to support George D. Grant in the Fort Utah expedition, he refused. For this act he was cashiered from the Nauvoo Legion, but eventually he and the authorities reconciled their differences.

IV

FORT UTAH "MISSION"

MEMBERS of the expedition had been most favorably impressed by the land in Utah Valley. Oliver Huntington hazarded the opinion that this valley "would be the end of my searches to find a more pleasant and delightful home";[1] and Hosea Stout pronounced the Provo "a fine large Stream & well timbered on the Valley . . . a beautiful farming country."[2] Within three days after the return of the company Alexander Williams announced his intention of farming in Utah Valley; he proposed "to take some of Prest. Young's cows, and instruct the widows and orphans of the four Indians killed the previous Monday to farm, etc."[3] The Indian women and children seem to have been averse to accepting such philanthropic attention, and ultimately they went north to join a Shoshone band.[4]

At a council meeting on March 10 Brigham Young called thirty men to settle Utah Valley at once "for the purpose of farming, and fishing and of instructing the Indians in cultivating the earth and teaching them civilization." John S. Higbee, William Wadsworth, Dimick B. Huntington, Samuel Ewing, Peter W. Conover, Houghton Conover, Alexander Williams, and John Scott were named to go. By March 17 thirty-three colonists were preparing to depart. The "mission" was organized the next day under the leadership of John S. Higbee, president and bishop; Isaac Higbee, first counselor, and Dimick B. Huntington, second counselor.[5]

March had nearly passed before the colonists completed their plans for departure. Wagons had to be loaded, stock rounded up, and the details of organization settled. It took three days to make the trip with ox-teams, a few horses, and cows. Farm implements were carried, together with seeds and household equipment. Only six families accompanied the original party. This was rather unusual, later "missions" taking all the families with them. As the settlers neared the banks of the Provo River, they were met by Angatewats, a young Indian brave, who blocked the trail with his horse. Dimick B. Huntington "pleaded for them to try the emigrants a while and see if they could not live in peace together."[6] After a short parley, Huntington was 'made to raise his right hand and swear by the sun that the white people would not drive the Indians away, or take from them any of their rights.'[7] The whites were then permitted to advance. They crossed the river and camped on the south side near the lower crossing (approximately First North and 18th West if present streets extended that distance), at what was later known as Old Fort Field.[8]

The erection of fort-style houses was commenced at once. Built around an ancient mound, "Fort Utah" measured 20 by 40 rods, and was surrounded by a 14-foot stockade with gates at the east and west ends. Box elder trees, more durable and more accessible than cottonwood trees, were used for lumber. Within the stockade, log cabins, generally roofed with split lumber and dirt, were grouped side by side. Each boasted two cloth-covered windows. Puncheons were used for flooring. The vacant spaces between the houses were filled with pickets embedded closely together in the ground. A cattle corral, attached to the southeast corner of the stockade, was used at night, and a guardhouse was erected within the corral. Smaller private corrals were placed behind some of the cabins. A

brass cannon, upon the mound, commanded the surrounding territory.[9] The next step was to lay out the farms. These were located east, south, and west of the fort. By May, 225 acres were under cultivation.

Situated on the grounds of the annual encampment of the Ute bands who gathered from the valleys to the east and south, the little settlement was forced to cope with Indian resentment. The Indian tribes were drawn to Utah Lake by the abundance of fish moving every spring from the lake to their spawning ground up the streams. So great was the number of suckers and mullet passing up stream that frequently the river would be full from bank to bank "as thick as they could swim for hours and sometimes days together, and fish would be taken in all ways and places. The Indians could feast from morning until night for weeks together, free from all cost, except labor."[10]

The settlers managed to get along with the Indians until two tribes quarreled. Elk killed Jim, son of Wanship, chief of the Salt Lake Valley band, and on April 12 Wanship raided Little Chief's camp and ran off all the horses. According to Oliver B. Huntington, "Little Chief came over in tears and implored the whites to help him. In a long speech he set forth his awful situation without horses, and how it was brought on by helping them. Said he had shown himself to be a friend of the Mormons and now if they were his friends he wanted they should show it by getting his horses back." The whites sent word by express to Governor Young, who called out an armed force to scare the Indians into compliance. Wanship, however, strode up to the captain of the company "and fired a gun immediately over his head. Saying he was ready to die; that his men had periled their lives for those horses, and according to all their laws they belonged to them; and every man, woman and child in his village should die before the horses should go back, that all of them did not

pay for his son and horse." Wanship insisted, however, that he had no desire to fight the whites. He agreed to move on north. Little Chief meantime had organized an avenging force of some fifteen men, and on April 20 he passed through Great Salt Lake City in search of his foe. Wanship was overtaken by Little Chief and his band, apparently in Ogden Hole. Little Chief retook his horses, with some of Wanship's for good measure, but next morning Wanship, in another counter stroke, retook more than half of all the horses, Little Chief and three of his men falling in the battle.[11]

Thomas S. Williams rode in from Fort Bridger to report that Old Elk and the war chief, Walker, in consequence of some fighting between Americans and Utes near Taos, were agitating Ute bands to fight the whites in Utah Valley. Young warned John S. Higbee on April 18 to "speedily complete their fort, to keep near the settlement, to place their cannon on the top of the fort, to gather a sufficient quantity of round stones for grape shot, to secure and guard their horses and cattle, to keep a vigilant guard at night, to look out for the Indians, not to make them any presents, but, if they would be friendly, to teach them to raise grain and order them to quit stealing."[12] Dimick Huntington replied, on April 19, that "Patsower, an influential Indian, a brother of one that we killed, came in yesterday and cut up high swells. . . . I have made him our friend. He says a great deal about Walker coming in soon. . . . We marshaled ourselves yesterday and find twenty muskets in camp and no cartridges, I wish you would send by Capt. Hunt twenty rounds apiece for each gun, if you think it best. We will take care of the ammunition. We have but one keg of powder and no cartridges. I think it would be good to have another keg. . . . We fired the cannon once, and it had a good effect. There is quite a number of Indians in this vicinity;

they appear very friendly at present, but they are very uncertain."[13]

Brigham Young felt that the Indians were being incited by outsiders to attack the Mormons. He took steps to recover Patsowiet's squaw from the Shoshones, and to recover another woman for Walker's tribe, pacifying the Indians for the time being; but Brigham warned the settlers not to be deceived by the apparent kindness of the Indians, for in an unguarded moment they might suffer loss.[14] On May 27, Alexander Williams requested permission to trade with the Indians. He stated that Walker was anxious to trade his furs and skins for supplies. According to Williams, Walker looked upon the Mormons as his relatives, and promised that none of his people would meddle with the settlers' cattle. The church authorities issued trading permits to Williams and Dimick B. Huntington, but eleven other requests were turned down. The traders were to receive double wages while so engaged. At the same meeting John S. Higbee asked to be released as president of Fort Utah; Isaac Higbee was appointed in his stead.[15]

In June Dimick Huntington sent word to Brigham Young that Walker claimed the waters as his and wanted to acknowledge Brigham Young as the Utes' father, and did not want Brigham to "throw them away." They were going to hunt skins and then trade with the Mormons.[16]

Increasing uneasiness over the Indians brought about organization of a militia. On July 4, Jefferson Hunt was named captain, and Peter W. Conover first lieutenant. Sixty able-bodied young men formed the first company.[17] Later in the fall Conover took over command of the militia when Captain Hunt left to guide to California, over the southern route, the company of emigrants that acquired such tragic fame for its sufferings in Death Valley.

Three impetuous whites finally precipitated trouble with the Indians in August. James Bean told Brigham Young four years later, "Jerome Zabriskie, Richard A. Ivie, and John Rufus Stoddard were going out . . . to hunt cattle . . . they met an Indian [Old Bishop] who was wearing a shirt which Richard A. Ivie claimed, alleging that it had been stolen . . ., the Indian refused to give it up, saying he had bought it; whereupon they tried to take it from him forcibly, he struggling all the time against them, and, to defend himself he drew his bow, when John R. Stoddard shot him through the head, killing him instantly; they then dragged his corpse to the Provo River." To dispose of the body, they filled the abdominal cavity with rocks, and sank the corpse in the river. Nevertheless, twenty-four hours later, Indians discovered the body. The Utes came to believe that yearly, on the anniversary of Old Bishop's death, he arose from the water and slowly removed the rocks one by one and threw them into the river.[18]

The report of Old Bishop's murder thoroughly alarmed the settlers. It was not long before the Indians came to the fort, and demanded the murderers. When refused, they demanded compensation in cattle and horses. "Nothing was ever given," George Washington Bean says, "and shortly after this cattle and horses were found with arrows sticking in them, several persons were shot at while in the woods and other places. . . . Guards were posted at night and armed herdsmen on horseback, kept the stock by day. The leading Indians ordered the people off their land. They made serious threats in case of failure to leave and stock was stolen from time to time.

"About September 1st a bastion was constructed on the mound in the fort, of heavy posts, with log railings, and a six pounder iron cannon placed on the platform of the bastion, which was sufficiently elevated to protect the fort

and stockyards from attack which was liable to occur at any time."[19]

Large companies of Forty-Niners were now pouring through the territory. Their coming was both a blessing and a detriment. Their purchases brought much-needed cash into the settlement, but the trading of guns and ammunition to the Indians for horses was disquieting. Although the presence of a large number of well-armed emigrants had its effect upon the Indians, an epidemic of measles that broke out among them had more to do with their apparent peacefulness. The militia drilled daily, and the roar of the six-pounder punctuated the stillness to remind the Indians that the fort was well protected.[20]

Brigham Young, on his way to visit the fort, left Great Sale Lake City September 14, 1849. "We descended to the Utah Valley in a diagonal line," writes Thomas Bullock, "and soon reached Dry Creek [site of Lehi] which was fringed with willows and small trees. We continued on to the American creek, along the banks of which stream many traveling California emigrants were scattered. . . . At length we came in sight of the grove, in which lies the Fort, when the old pioneer gun belched forth our introduction to the Fort. The brethren were collecting their cattle for the night when we arrived. On crossing the island, we saw some very beautiful timber. We then crossed the Provo river, a fine stream, five rods wide and from 16 to 20 inches deep. On reaching the opposite bank, we were met by all the inhabitants at 20 minutes to 4 o'clock at the gate of the Fort. We drove inside and were hospitably welcomed by the people. In the Fort was raised a platform, on which the cannon was placed; under the platform 4 tables covered with good things of the earth, were built. We who had just arrived sat down to three tables and partook to our satisfaction. The visiting brethern were scattered in different houses for the night."[21]

V

SECOND FORT UTAH—"A VERY ELIGIBLE PLACE"

BRIGHAM YOUNG, Heber C. Kimball, and others rode out on September 17 to locate a more suitable townsite. The original fort had been selected because the Provo River and a small stream flowing southward afforded protection from the swarms of "Mormon crickets" that infested the northern benchlands. The annual spring flooding of the Provo River, however, inundated the grain fields.[1] Brigham Young "found a very eligible place, about 2 miles southeast of the Fort, where it was decided to build a city a mile square to be laid off in blocks of four acres each, divided into eight lots of half an acre each, reserving the center block of four acres for a chapel and school-house; the streets to be five rods wide."[2]

Although the California emigrants had enriched the colony to some extent, poverty was still their bedfellow. Oliver B. Huntington tells of one elder called from the congregation to speak "who had on neither coat, shoes or socks, and he spoke with much power of the Holy Spirit. . . . We felt it no shame because it was the best we could do. . . . I went to dances in private houses where there was no floor but the ground, and no splendor but bright, cheerful, honest faces. . . . We needed no money then to pay extravagant fiddlers' 'bills'. . . . We could pay for our admission to a party in wheat, flour, oats, corn, potatoes, squashes, molasses, beets or anything the people

wanted to eat or wear. . . . In those days we all 'met on a level and parted on the square'. . . . We never heard of burglaries, hold-ups, or suicides. We never had heard or thought of bankruptcy or gambling in stocks. The present hard times are more in the imagination than reality."[3]

Despite increasing Indian hostility, the colony grew rapidly. John Porter and Alexander Williams erected a sawmill; Abram G. Conover threshed the first wheat, which "was a cause of rejoicing by the colonists, as they had been out of bread for about four months"; while James Bean and the Clarks tapped the Provo River, and dug the first irrigation ditch, later known as Beanditch.[4] Samuel Clark built the first tannery and commenced tanning hides for shoes. The need for shoes was so great that most of the leather was used before it was properly tanned.

The Indians became increasingly difficult. Isaac Higbee advised Brigham Young on October 15 that the Indians had shot at several of the settlers, killed two animals, and stolen some corn. Three of the Utes, two of them naked and unarmed, and one of them carrying a stick with feathers tied to it, advanced and met the brethren outside the fort. They had heard the brethren were angry with them, and they had come to make peace. Peace was made, but the Indians still persisted in stealing, and were very saucy, threatening to kill the men and take the women.[5] "They called us old women and cowards," Peter Conover noted in his journal, "and [said] that we were afraid to fight them."[6]

Young's reply on the 18th could not be called sympathetic. He ordered the settlers to take care of their grain, stockade their fort, and attend to their own affairs. "Let your women and children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out, but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treatment. . . . This is what

we have told you continually, and you will find it true. . . . Let any man, or company of men be familiar with Indians, and they will be more familiar; and the more familiar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dominion over them, for your own good, which is the duty of the Elders, you must not treat them as your equals. . . . If they are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you. You have been too familiar with them; your children have mixed promiscuously with them; they have been free in your houses, and some of the brethren have spent too much time in smoking and chatting with them; instead of teaching them to labor, such a course has encouraged them in idleness and ignorance, the effect of which you begin to feel. You must now rid yourselves of these evils the best way you can, by righting up everything and doing . . . probably what you would have done at first, if multiplied cares had not rested upon you, as is common in all new settlements. . . . You had better finish your fort, bring all your grain into it, and continue to live in it at present. And when the town is laid out, build thereon, as you have the means and the way shall be open."[7]

When Parley P. Pratt passed through the settlement on November 27, 1849, on his way to explore southern Utah, he found "57 log houses built on 17½ acres of ground, 100 rods from the Provo River," proof that "the means and the way" were "opening" to the colonists.[8]

By January 9, 1850, the settlers were fed up with the Indians. Alexander Williams and others advised Brigham Young that besides stealing cattle the Indians were threatening war. Young thought there was no necessity for fighting with the Indians, and warned if they killed Indians for stealing, they should have to answer for it. "Why," he demanded, "should men have a disposition to kill a destitute, naked Indian, who may steal a shirt or

a horse and thinks it no harm, when they never think of meting out a like retribution to a white man who steals, although he has been taught better from infancy?"[9]

This was cold comfort to the settlers, who were alarmed by Brigham's apparent indifference to their predicament. Isaac Higbee on January 31 sent Miles Weaver and Peter W. Conover by express to Great Salt Lake City, to place the case before Brigham Young. The forty-mile trip was made in four hours. Darkly they painted the picture, asking permission to chastise the Indians. Young finally gave way.[10]

Captain Howard Stansbury, U. S. Topographical Engineer, in Great Salt Lake City for the winter, no doubt had some influence upon Young's decision. Stansbury felt that his survey would have to be postponed unless the Ute and Paiute Indians were put in their place. He reported to the Government:

> While engaged in the survey of Utah Valley we were no little annoyed by numbers of the [Paiute] tribe, who hung around camp, crowding around the cook-fires, more like hungry dogs than human beings, eagerly watching for the least scrap that might be thrown away, which they devoured with avidity and without the least preparation. The herdsmen also complained that their cattle were frequently scattered, and that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, several of them had unaccountably disappeared and were lost. One morning, a fine fat ox came into camp with an arrow buried in his side, which perfectly accounted for the disappearance of the others.
>
> After the party left Lake Utah for winter quarters in Salt Lake City, the Indians became more insolent, boasting of what they had done—driving off the stock of the inhabitants of the southern settlements, resisting all attempts to recover them, and finally firing upon the people themselves as they issued from their little stockade to attend to their ordinary occupations. Under these circumstances, the settlers in Utah Valley applied to the supreme government, at Salt Lake City, for counsel as to the proper course of action. The President was at first extremely averse to the adoption of harsh measures; but, after several conciliatory overtures had been resorted to in vain, he very properly determined to put a stop, by force, to further aggressions, which, if not resisted, could only end in the total destruction of the colony. . . . Before coming to this decision, the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what view the Government of the United States might be expected to take of it. . . . I did not hesitate to tell them that . . . the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self preservation. . . . I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of Utah Valley . . . must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection.[11]

On February 2, Brigham Young announced his decision to subdue the Indians in Utah Valley. His remarks were endorsed by Captain Stansbury. Gen. Daniel H. Wells then called out the volunteers.[12] The following day George D. Grant gathered the first company of volunteers at the Bowery. Stansbury wrote Young: "Understanding that your expedition against the Utah Indians is about to start today, I am anxious that you should have the use of everything I have, that may be of advantage to its successful issue. I have already furnished all the arms I have, together with such other things as Captain Grant thought he should want. Should there be anything else which at this late hour may occur to you, I hope you will not hesitate to apply to me for it, and should it be in my power, it shall be at your disposal. I wish particularly to say, that the services of Dr. Blake and Lieut. Howland are to be entirely without compensation, they being under pay of the Government, and I hope that they may prove serviceable to the campaign."[13]

Marching all night, the militia arrived at the post sometime after midnight February 8. The company had suffered severely from the freezing cold and snow. The

Indians, unaware of the reinforcements, killed four head of cattle belonging to Captain Hunt.

One band of Indians, headed by Ankatowats [Tullidge spells the name Antonguer, G. W. Bean, Angatewats], continued friendly. The old chief came to the fort asking peace in return for aid. "We thought we had better bring them into the fort so they could not telegraph movements to the other Indians," said Peter Conover. "I took ten men and went over before sunrise and brought them into the Fort."[14]

Grant's company, reinforced by the militia under Captain Conover, started after the Indians on the 9th of February. They were found fortified in the bend of the river, hiding behind the bank, with rude bulwarks of cottonwood timber. They also occupied a log house built by James Bean, who had abandoned it because of the Indians.

The Utes were commanded by Big Elk, a brave and resourceful Indian. His superior, Ope-Carry or Stick-on-Head, was more peaceful. There were about seventy well-armed warriors in the camp. Dimick B. Huntington, the interpreter, called for a pow-wow. Ope-Carry came out and expressed a desire for peace, but while the parley was in progress, Big Elk opened fire. The whites fired back.

At the end of the first day, the Indians courageously still held their position. Artillery was ineffective because of the hidden position of the Utes. The red men would make sudden sorties, and, after firing, run for cover. They would also raise their heads long enough to take aim and fire at the whites, but it was their log-house force that was most effective. At the close of the first day's battle, there were several white men wounded and one known Indian, an observer posted in a tree. Suffering from the cold, the weary militia returned to the fort after dark.

The battle was resumed next morning without much success for the besiegers. In the afternoon, the attacking

force determined to take the log house at all costs. Lieutenant William H. Kimball, with fifteen men, was dispatched up the river to maneuver into a position facing the back of the house. This side of the house was not provided with windows or doors, but was full of chink holes through which the rifles of the Indians protruded. At the command to charge, every man dashed forward along the bottom of the creek. In endeavoring to cross the ice, the cavalry broke through and for a few minutes were hidden from sight. When they came back into view a few rods from the house, a huge volley of fire welcomed them from the chinks. R. T. Burton and Lot Smith succeeded in riding their horses around the corners and into a passageway between the rooms of the house. Seven or eight horses were shot down in the charge, but no other injuries were suffered. Between the firing, Kimball and others gained the shelter of the house.

The infantry, under Conover, were now ordered forward to support the charge, carrying a saw and an ax to cut an entrance into the rear of the house. A few, however, entered from the front, and drew the fire of the Indians. One of these, Jabez Nowlan, was shot in the nose—he had, says Abner Blackburn, "a verry large nose his wife told him in the morning if he was shot it would be in his nose, and sure enough he was." At the suggestion of Lieutenant Howland, a movable V-shaped barricade of planks was constructed, on runners. The outside was screened with brush, while the inside was hung loosely with buffalo robes and blankets to stop the force of the bullets should they penetrate the timbers. This strange object was pushed toward the Indians, who took alarm and retreated that evening, quietly taking with them a supply of horse meat cut from the slain animals.

Investigation the following day revealed two or three warriors either dead or dying, and one squaw dead. The

attackers had lost one man, Joseph Higbee, son of Isaac Higbee, and had eighteen wounded. Big Elk, who had sworn never to live in peace with the white men, died on the way to Rock Canyon, to which part of his force had fled.

The main body of Indians turned south to Spanish Fork Canyon, followed by General Wells, sent to take charge of further operations. Brief engagements occurred at Spanish Fork and Peteetneet (Payson), and the band was overtaken near Table Mountain at the south end of Utah Lake. Here five Indians were killed in battle and seventeen prisoners taken. The next morning the prisoners regained their arms and fled across the lake on the slippery ice, with the whites in pursuit. When shot at, they would fall as if dead, but when the militia came closer, would rise and fire. All of these Indians were killed. The whites lost some horses.

The Indians who fled up Rock Canyon were pursued by a force of men under Captain (Andrew L.?) Lamoreaux and Major Andrew Lytle. After a skirmish the Indians escaped.

Soon after these battles, campfires were seen near Table Mountain at night. Twenty-three young men from the fort investigated and found a band of about the same number of warriors. They were hostile but finally smoked the pipe of peace. All started for the fort, where a large ox was given to the Indians, sealing the peace.[15]

"I was a young girl at the time it happened," Epsy Jane Williams Pace writes in her autobiography, "I nursed and took care of the wounded and cooked for 18 of the Cottonwood Company at home besides our own family and then after nine p. m. I went to the Bishop's and cooked for William H. Kimball and his company of 25 also the Bishop's family the night Jos. Higby was killed."[16]

The campaign had lasted three weeks; the 97 prisoners

taken were young bucks, squaws, and children, most of whom returned to their tribes after the treaty. Stansbury's surgeon, Dr. Blake, "cut the heads off the Indians that were killed and brought them to the fort. He had 40 or 50," Epsy Jane Williams Pace says, "and said that after the flesh was off he was going to take them back to Washington."[17]

Abner Blackburn gives a lively picture of this venture in headhunting:

> a few days after the last batle with the indians a government surgeon wanted James Or and me to take a sley cross over on the ice and secure the indians heads for he wanted to send them to Washington to a medical institution. hired a sley crost over on the ice the weather was bitter cold. the surgeon tok out his box of instruments and comenced it took him a quarter of an hour to cut of one head. the sun was getting low and frezing cold Jim and me took the job in our own hands we wear not going to wait on the surgeons slow motion jerked our knives out and had them all of in a few minutes.
>
> they wear frozen and come of easy in our fassion the surgeon stood back and watched us finish the job the surgeion shot some ducks ten or twelve boxed them up guts feathers and all. and told me to bring them down with the indian heads in a week or two to Salt Lake City. took them down according to agreement the weather turned warm and the ducks wear green with rot. the indian heads smelt loud drove to his office. and told him the ducks wear spoilt he opened the box pulled out a wing smelt it and says they are just right. He settled up and invited me to super. i was not hungry and declined his offer[18]

The settlers set about construction of a small fort, six by twelve rods, at what is now Sowiette Park. The old fort was subject to floods every spring and was too small to accommodate the growing population. Still another and larger fort was surveyed in March, 1850. The large fort, selected by Brigham Young above the flood line of the river, was to be laid off eleven blocks square, "each block to contain 12 lots of 12 rods by four, the streets to be 5

rods wide and the center block to be reserved by the chapel, schools, etc."[19] William M. Lemon surveyed the plot on March 25. Higbee and Smith erected a gristmill, and the Turner and East Union ditches brought water from the Provo River to the farmlands. Settlers, meantime, were coming through the valley on their way to new settlements in the south.

Certain of the Indians were still smarting under defeat. Walker and Arrapene were reported punishing Indians who persisted in killing the cattle of the settlers, and Walker informed Isaac Morley in Sanpete Valley that Jim Bridger and Louis Vasquez were urging the Indians to make war upon the Mormons. Pat Sowiette continued raiding the settlers, and Morley reported the theft of ten head of cattle. On April 21, Morley again wrote Brigham Young, "We have just heard by two Utah Indians . . . that Pat Sowiette has been over in Salt Lake Valley and killed six cattle, two mules and two horses, and threatened to kill all they can find of the Mormons by laying around nights, or at any time, when found alone. . . . If Walker or others make peace with the Mormons, they say, they are women. Walker says that he wishes the Mormons to go and take Pat-Sow-e-ett, Un-ker-wen-kent, and Tish-u-nah and put them out of the way, so that he and others may be at rest and peace and be able to lay down and sleep good. Walker says that the Utes under Sow-e-ett are coming here this season and wishes to have the trade come here, so that they need not travel among the hostile Indians in the Utah Valley. They want cattle, blankets, hats, knives, guns, and ammunition, and all kinds of articles for Indian trade. The brethren at Utah Fort are hereby requested to be on their guard, as these hostile Indians threaten to kill the Mormons. . . . The nights are the time for such to operate. . . . Walker seems bent on exposing every plot and contrivance laid against the Mormons as fast as it comes to his knowledge. . . . This was written and sent by request of Walker."[20]

Residents of Provo evidently heeded the warning, because, on April 28, General Daniel H. Wells was advised that they had killed the brother of Pat Sowiette and desired to know if that chief was in the vicinity of Salt Lake City. Plans were laid for Wells to come to Provo for a meeting with the Indians and enact a trade treaty. Shortly before noon of May 20 he started with Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Thomas Bullock, Brigham H. Young, and others. Before their arrival at Provo they were met by Elijah (Barney) Ward and Grosepene with word that the Indians were anxious to receive the party; some of them had come all the way from Mexico for that purpose. Young directed Newel K. Whitney to forward 2,500 pounds of flour, meat, and other provisions, all the hats and caps that could be obtained, and a quantity of ammunition.[21]

The next day Ward and Grosepene rode on ahead to inform the colony of the approaching party, and to see that wagons were sent to meet the teams loaded with provisions. Provo River was booming with high water, and the company encamped on the north side of the slough. Several Indians came to the President's camp for breakfast. At nightfall the Indians made a circle singing and dancing while another company sat around the fire gambling. Presently they formed into a semi-circle and went singing up to the fort, "and in this manner they gave the President's party a serenading."[22]

The inevitable horse races took place the morning of May 23. Bets were placed, usually a shirt against a buckskin, or a coat or pants against an elk's hide. The Mormons won the race, and the Indians paid off. In the afternoon Young gave orders to George D. Grant, Lewis Robison, Ephraim Hanks, and Hiram B. Clawson to start

trading through interpreters Elijah Ward, Dimick Huntington, and Alex Williams, on terms laid down by the treaty. Indians gathered around, and trading was brisk.[23]

Upon his return to Salt Lake City, Young announced that the Saints would have to raise grain and support the Indians until they could raise their own; the whites, however, should treat the natives like Indians and set them an example worthy of civilized men.[24]

Young also wrote to Fort Utah advising the people to settle with the Indians, buy any young Indian boys and girls who might be offered for sale, and tell the Indians that when the Saints should trade with them again, they would not go to Fort Utah, but would meet them either on this side or beyond.[25]

Except for a skirmish with the Snakes, the Indians remained peaceful until the latter part of July, when Walker and Sowiette camped near the fort with large bands. Walker had with him about 1,000 head of stolen horses, which proceeded to devour the crops. Brigham Young had refused him aid in fighting the Snakes, and he was sullen. Sowiette went to Peter Conover and told him Walker planned to massacre the residents of the fort. Walker should not, Sowiette said, come into the fort as long as Sowiette lived, for he and his men were going to fight for the whites. "I immediately waked every man in the fort that had a gun and had every man arm himself and stand guard, so as to defend ourselves if they made an attack," Conover writes. "Sowiette would not allow them to fight. At last they went away all together. I never saw Walker again."[26] There were some 400 to 500 Indians and probably one-tenth as many whites. Bullets whistled over the fort throughout the night, but no one was hurt.[27]

Although the settlers were forced to preoccupy themselves largely with their Indian neighbors, the foundations were being laid for a solid community which would firmly

anchor Mormon colonization south of Great Salt Lake City. The General Assembly of the Provisional State of Deseret passed an act, approved January 31, 1850, creating six counties, Great Salt Lake, Weber, Utah, Tooele, San Pete, and Little Salt Lake. "Provo" was named county seat of Utah County, apparently the first use of that name for the settlement.[28] The General Assembly also named officials for Utah County, with Daniel Carns as presiding judge, and Isaac Higbee and William Miller associate judges of the county court.[29] The county does not seem to have been actually organized until 1852, following creation of the Territory of Utah;[30] however, at a session of the General Assembly on October 5, 1850, Isaac Higbee, after resigning as associate judge, was appointed clerk and recorder for the county and Aaron Johnson, William Miller, and Joshua T. Willis were appointed to serve as county judges until the next election.[31] These civil officers were prominent ecclesiastical authorities serving Utah Stake, which was organized in March, 1851.[32]

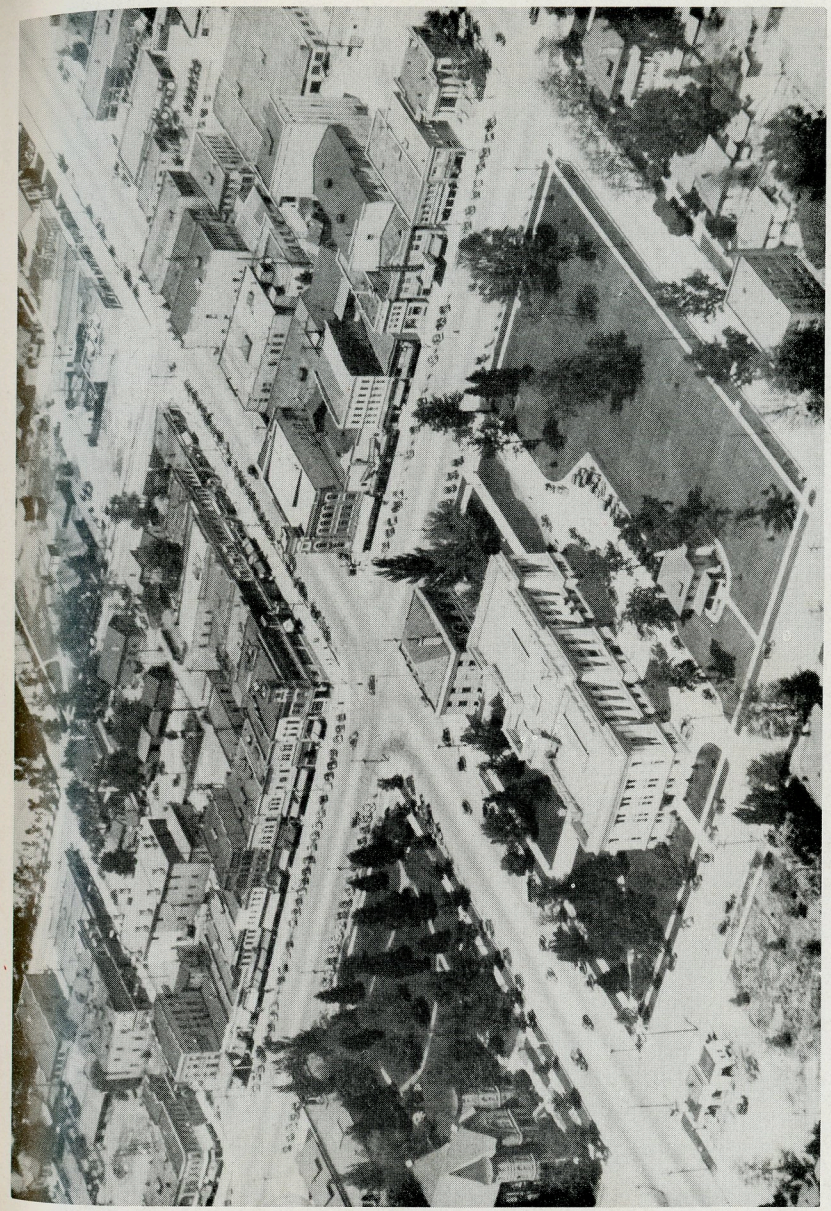
At the beginning of 1851, Provo had several hundred inhabitants, for whom the two forts were inadequate. As soon as the survey of the new town was completed, the settlers began to build on their lots. On February 6, the General Assembly of Deseret granted Provo a charter modeled after that of Nauvoo, which provided for a city council consisting of one mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors. The corporate limits began "two miles south from the present survey of the city of Provo, at the edge of Utah Lake; then east to the mountain; thence northerly with the mountain to the north bank of the Provo River; thence west to the said lake; thence southerly along the edge of the lake to the place of beginning."[33]

In April the first city council was elected, consisting of Ellis Eams, mayor; William Pace, Harlow Redfield, David Canfield, and Samuel Clark, aldermen; and Gil-

bert Haws, James R. Ivie, William M. Wall, Chauncy Turner, George A. Smith, Jonathan O. Duke, David Cluff, Ross R. Rogers, Ezekiel Kellogg, and Thomas G. Wilson, councilors; George W. Bean, recorder; John Radford, assessor; E. E. Holden, collector; James Rollins, treasurer; James Bean, supervisor.[34] "In those times," says John Booth, "the laws requiring actual residence as a qualification for holding office were not so strict as now. George A. Smith did not establish a residence . . . until 1852, but he was chosen a member of the City Council. . . . George A. Smith in matters of government knew more than perhaps any other man in Utah; and he might with profit to the cities, [have] been a member of more than one City Council.[35]

Survival of the Fort Utah settlement had demonstrated the practicability of colonization of Utah Valley. In consequence the authorities directed southward many who arrived in the immigration of 1850. American Fork, Lehi, Alpine, and Pleasant Grove were settled north of Provo, and Springville, Peteetneet (subsequently Payson), and Spanish Fork were settled to the south.[36] These outposts gave an added security to the parent settlement on the Provo River.

At Provo, fields were planted early in the spring. Baums and Beans settled "on the river above town; Cluffs in the east fields; Turner and Thomas, southeast;" and others scattered over the surrounding country, in utter disregard of Brigham Young's instructions. Irrigation ditches led to most fields. Shadrach Holdaway and Alanson Morton erected the first carding machine, which removed one burden from the women's shoulders. John Booth says, "The sisters made about all the clothing there was; carding, spinning and weaving all done by hand and every improvement was a blessing. No finishing machines except the ladies fingers. The writer . . . has a distinct



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recollection wearing some of that home made cloth next to him and several days after putting it on both his mind and his hands were very active in endeavoring to change the relative position of his body to fit the sharp points in the cloth."[37]

In the early spring, Brigham Young's team sloushed through the "Slough of Despair" to Provo.[38] Young's disgust at the road conditions led to passage of an ordinance on April 28 providing that "every able bodied male citizen over the age of 18" should work on the roads one day a year. A general clean-up campaign followed. Cut timber was no longer permitted to stay where it fell; it was to be removed within 30 days, or it became the property of anyone hauling it away. Unnecessary destruction of timber brought a $50 fine. Anyone leaving timber lot gates open was subject to a $10 fine. The fence-viewing committee saw to it that the fences were repaired or slapped a $50 fine upon the offender.[39]

Church officials had long looked with disfavor on the "Spanish" traders. The practice of trading guns and ammunition to the Indians was dangerous to the safety of the Mormon settlements. The church also frowned upon slave trading. New Mexican horse traders made annual trips to the north, trading "used-up" horses for the children of the poorer tribes, who were taken back to New Mexico and sold into slavery. The boys brought $100, and the girls from $150 to $200. Walker and his band found the slave trade lucrative. He made raids upon the weaker tribes, stealing the children and selling them to the Mexicans.

Brigham Young's scouts now reported Mexican trading parties in the Territory. At Provo, Young had the law read to them, that the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had changed conditions. "The Mexicans listened with respect, admitting that traffic would cease. . . . All seemed satis-

fied and pledged their word that they would return to their homes without trading for children . . . but one small party, under Pedro Leon, violated their obligations and were arrested and brought before the United States Court. . . ."[40]

George A. Smith, one of the ablest men in the Territory, represented the Mexicans; S. M. Blair prosecuted. The Mexicans swore that Indians had stolen horses, killing and eating them. "The only remuneration they could get was to take some children which the Indians offered. . . . The trial lasted several days; the fines were afterwards remitted, and the Mexicans allowed to return home."[41]

Walker and other members of his band bitterly resented the Mormon interference. The Indians, with a number of captured children they had planned to sell, demanded payment for them. The Mormons refused. Arapeen caught up one of the children by the heels and dashed out its brains on a rock. Tossing the body at the settlers, he shouted that they were heartless, or they would have saved the child's life by purchasing it.[42] It was plain that there would yet be trouble with the Utes.

Contrary to Brigham Young's orders, church and city officials of Provo were moving out of the fort and establishing homes and farms all over the valley. Those on the townsite petitioned Brigham Young on May 19, 1852: "Of the Church Authorities not one single one lives in the city but Bishop Blackburn is building, so there is prospect of one. Of the city authorities out of fifteen, there are two aldermen and three counselors in the city, and of policemen, five only live in the city out of fifteen. Post Office among the missing. Your petitioners are desirous for the welfare of this place and feel duty bound to ask you to take into consideration our circumstances, and if it is consistent we would be heartily glad if Bro. Geo. A. Smith

could be appointed to take the lead in matters here . . . and we feel disposed to contribute liberally towards building him a house and other improvements."[43]

Brigham Young made a trip south to see for himself how the colony was progressing. Upon his return, at a special conference on July 17, Smith was named to regulate the affairs of Utah County and he moved to Provo with one of his families on August 1, 1852.[44]

Smith appointed Dominicus Carter and Isaac Higbee as his counselors, and organized five wards with Jonathan O. Duke, James Bird, Edward Clark, W. M. Wall, and William Fausett as bishops. Ward boundaries were established and a high council was appointed.[45]

Fired by Smith's energy, the settlers pitched in and erected a home for him, which Smith later presented to the city for a seminary. While this burst of enthusiasm was upon them, Smith put them to work measuring off the ground for a meeting house, which was dedicated on August 16.[46] The log schoolhouse was moved from the old fort and placed in the public square, where two wings were built to it.

New industries were encouraged by Smith, and by December the town had a pottery for brown ware, two gristmills, one sash factory, three cabinet shops, one wooden bowl factory, three shoe shops, two tailor's shops, one meat market, two store houses, and two lime kilns. The Deseret Manufacturing Company had, moreover, obtained about a thousand acres of excellent land for raising sugar beets.[47] Besides these improvements, Provo boasted two new hotels.

The Deseret Manufacturing Company, organized under the direction of John Taylor, brought in sugar refining machinery from Liverpool, England. Shipped by water to New Orleans, up the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, it was brought across

the plains by teams. The works were set up near the site of the first Provo Indian skirmish, but "owing to the extreme amount of alkali in the soil and the lack of knowledge in chemistry the sugar industry proved a failure at that time, as the juices soured."[48] The machinery was removed to Salt Lake City, where it proved useful in the making of linseed oil.

Realizing the hardships under which the settler lived, the Mormon Church encouraged such amusements as dancing and theatricals. An early day party is thus described:

> The largest room in the place was a log building intended to serve as a meeting house, fort and school house, and in this the merrymakers met. As it was to be . . . a stylish party . . . two fiddlers were engaged instead of one. . . . Each gentleman who wished to dance must bring two candles as entrance fee. . . . Unfortunately when the time to light up arrived it was discovered that no one had brought a candle stick. However, some produced jack knives, which being stuck into the logs and partly closed, would hold a candle very well. Others rushed home and brought big potatoes which were quickly transformed into candlesticks by slicing one side for a base and making a hole in the other . . . and a shingle judiciously stuck between the logs here and there answered admirably as a bracket.
>
> The musicians . . . are seated upon a table at one end of the room, the caller beside him, the company seated on quilt covered boards. . . . The room being big enough for three sets . . . [the men] lead their partners to the floor. . . .
> Violent skill brings copious moisture to the brow, which the few lucky to possess handkerchiefs remove by their use; others not so favored used their shirt sleeves for the same purpose. To wear a coat at such a time would badly interfere with this convention. . . . Besides this, many of the boys didn't have any, but instead, wore flannel overshirts with anchors, moons or flowers stamped upon them and embroidered pockets in front. They wore also a red silk sash around the waist and calcineres (pantaloons made Spanish fashion) . . . Altogether, boys so dressed presented quite a dashing appearance. . . . At about ten o'clock the lunch was served. Cake that is dark in color because it was sweetened with home-made molasses, made from corn stalks, beets, melons or parsnips, each of which will make a passable syrup. Smaller fruit cakes made of dried service berries, rather hard and tasteless but the best they had, and good enough. Sugar was almost unknown, raisons and spices entirely so, being six months from the source of supply by ox teams. Here, too, are custard pies, and crisp, brown nutcakes.[49]

A wedding was a time for celebration. On one occasion George Washington Bean "sallied forth to witness the solemnization of the Mairiage nuptials, when I arrived the Major part of the guests were there and all were in breathless expectation of the arrival of the Minister, who was to perform the Mariage Ceremony. At precisely 7 minutes past 2 himself and lady made their appearance, the loving couple stood up and were made one in the holy bans of wedlock, and then such kissing oh!! it was enough to set a fellows mouth all in a pucker. And then . . . came on the supper the tables loaded down with pies, cakes, sweetmeats and all kinds of luxury after stuffing and cramming our stomachs, and pockets, a little before sundown we adjourned to our several homes leaving the young and blushing bride and her mate to enjoy the sweets of cannubial bliss that fall to their lot in this world of trouble."[50]

Religious activities were provided for every day in the week. Church members could take satisfaction in this prospect: "On the Sabbath, preaching, Sabbath evening, prayer meeting, Monday evening, singing school, Tuesday evening, lyceum, Wednesday evening, seventies' meeting; Thursday, prayer meeting, Friday evening, spelling school, and on Saturday evening, the lesser [Aaronic] priesthood and day school."[51]

Horses being scarce, the settlers depended almost entirely upon oxen for farm work and hauling. Occasionally a cow was hitched with an ox to make up a team. Livestock had a way of disappearing, either with the help of

the Indians or of their own volition. The *Deseret News* warned: "Brethren look out for your stray horses, mules, and cattle of every description, for there are many herds to start soon for the other world and if you do not look for your own while you have a chance, you may look hereafter and not find them."[52]

Temporary shelters gave way to more permanent abodes. Logs were cut in Provo Canyon, floated down the stream and snaked off gravel bars with oxen. The thrifty settlers permitted no waste. The bark was peeled from the logs and sent to the tannery. The demand for shoes exceeded the supply, and it became necessary to turn out half-tanned leather, which expanded in wet weather and shrank uncomfortably in dry. "They matched well with the buckskin trousers frequently worn, and the socks made from old wagon covers."[53]

VI

INDIAN SLAVES AND THE WALKER WAR

THE Indian slave trade would not down. Brigham Young, in Provo to inspect the sugar factory, on April 23, 1853, officially proclaimed that since it was evidently "the intention of these Mexicans or foreigners to break the laws of this territory, and of the United States; utterly regardless of every restriction, furnishing Indians with guns and powder, whenever and wherever it suits their designs, convenience, or purposes," in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians and secure the lives and property of the citizens of the Territory, appropriate measures were to be taken: Captain William Wall was to reconnoiter the country, warn the settlers against the approaching raids, and gather information. Officers were to arrest, and keep in close custody, all Mexican parties and any other suspicious characters. The militia was to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, and all Mexicans in the territory were to tend strictly to business while in the settlements.[1]

The movements of the militia gave the Indians pause. Nevertheless, Brigham Young reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., "news of a hostile feeling on the part of the Utah chief, Wacher, and his band. This hostility arose from the misconduct of a small party of emigrants who left early in the spring for California, and on Summit Creek traded guns and ammunition to the Indians, and encouraged them to acts of hostility against the settlements. . . . Notwithstanding peace

exists between the whites and the Indians, and at present among the Indians. . . . Wherever small settlements are made the Indians gather round them . . . constantly importuning for clothing, provisions, arms and ammunition . . . and when their demands . . . are not complied with, they indulge angry feelings, and often practice stealing horses, cattle, clothing, etc., causing much loss of property. . . . A certain amount of guns, and powder and lead sufficient for reasonable hunting purposes should doubtless be allowed to them, and it has been a difficult and delicate matter to with hold as they have so long been accustomed to receive such articles from traders in the country before our arrival. . . . I . . . again call the attention of the Department to the propriety of some person or persons being authorized to make treaties with the Indian tribes of this Territory, to purchase portions of their lands, and to grant them reasonable annuities, that they may not on the one hand fade rapidly from the earth by neglect and starvation, nor on the other be induced to plunder our citizens, or become an onerous burden on the sparce population struggling for a scant subsistence amid much privation."[2] In an account forwarded to the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., losses sustained by the settlers in 1853 were estimated at $119,623.75.

The Utes began a series of raids which grew in intensity. On July 19 the governor dispatched a letter to Captain Peter W. Conover ordering him to be ready for war. The powder keg was touched off by the thrashing of an Indian by James Ivie. "Arrapene and several other chiefs," says Peter Conover, "came to Provo to fish and were very friendly. In going back to Payson, where the rest of the band were camped; they had a row with Jim Ivie . . . between Provo and Springville, over trading a gun."[3] Ivie knocked the Indian down. The infuriated Indians raided Payson that night, killing Alexander Keele, and an express was sent to Provo for aid. "I was at breakfast," Conover relates, "but jumped on my horse and . . . called out all the Captains . . . then went to Springville, and ordered out a company there, then another at Spanish Fork, and 11 o'clock I was in Payson with one-hundred and fifty men, ready for duty. When I got there the Indians had all left and gone to the mountains."[4]

Conover thought their objective was Manti, and proceeded over the mountains to that settlement. His "hunch" was good; that night "the Indians made a raid on all four sides of the town at once. The guard soon repulsed them and they soon left. They went up in the canyon and stole two yoke of cattle. . . . In the morning I started twenty-five men to try and get the cattle, and to try and find where the Indians had gone. . . . They fought and killed that squad of Indians. They saw Walker and his band coming over the hills and they rushed back to camp. . . . The next morning a courer came from the Governor with word to come right home. . . . The Indians followed to try and stampede our horses. They came near getting them. They came on three sides of the horses. Their watchword was a howl like a wolf. I understood their signal the first howl they made. I knew it was no wolf so put my men on their guard in a minute."[5]

Young on July 21 issued General Orders No. 1. Settlers were ordered to construct forts and occupy them; all military posts in the counties south of Salt Lake City were to be manned; Conover, Major Stephen Markham, and Boyce were to end their expedition against the Indians and return to their posts. All absentee settlers were ordered to their homes. Herds and supplies were to be corralled and guarded; arms were to be repaired and ammunition issued. No person was to dispose of guns, powder, lead, caps, flint, or any other weapons to the Indians, or to assist them in any way. People were warned to stay out of the

canyons. In cases of depredations, no retaliation was to be made and no offense offered, but all were to act entirely on the defensive until further orders, being particular to ascertain the person, tribe or name of offending Indians. "We consider these orders as definite as they are positive, and do not expect to hear of their non-compliance or disobedience in any instance. No excuses will justify any material variation. . . . Let every enterprize be guarded, and be careful that no fire shall be put into the stocks of grain or fields, or in hauling, between the fields and stock yards . . . and thrash the wheat and safely store it, and be careful that you save hay sufficient for the winter . . . in case any emergency should arise. . . . The commandants . . . are required as soon as these orders come to hand to forthwith publish the same, and to cause copies to be forwarded to all the settlements. . . . It is desirable . . . that no threats of intimidations be made or exercised toward the Indians no more than if nothing unusual had occurred to destroy peaceful relations heretofore existing."[6]

On July 25 an express brought the news that two men had been wounded near Summit Creek, and that Indians had driven out the families and taken possession of their houses.[7] The commanders of the militia immediately issued General Orders No. 2. Colonel George A. Smith was assigned to command all the military districts south of Great Salt Lake County. The people were again ordered to the forts: "no man is at liberty to refuse to obey this order without being dealt with as an enemy. All surplus stock . . . must be driven to this city [Salt Lake City] and placed in charge of the Presiding Bishop . . . until further orders."[8]

The Indians were determined to fight. Settlers from Mountainville (Alpine), having no fort, were ordered to Salt Lake City. Allred settlement (Spring City) had already been raided, the Indians driving off to the mountains 200 head of cattle and horses.[9] On July 25 Brigham Young wrote Walker: "I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, and the only friends you have in the world. Everybody else would kill you if they could get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly Indians down to the settlement and we will give you some beef cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first, and then you will know that it is good. When you get good natured again, I would like to see you. Don't you think you should be ashamed? You know that I have always been your best friend."[10]

Fighting continued into the early fall. Meanwhile the walling of the settlements puzzled the Indians. They were told that the settlers "were going to shut them out and have no more to do with them." This threat to their peacetime source of food was not to their liking. "Walker finally said if we would quit building walls, they would quit fighting. But the good peace was broken, and there was always some of the whites holding grudges against the Indians. Still we called it a peace."[11]

The reluctance of the settlers to "fort up," and the resultant deaths, evoked from George A. Smith on October 7 an ironical discourse:

> I went to every settlement, and attempted to encourage them to fort, but failed to accomplish anything towards getting them to obey the word of the Lord on this matter. Some of them said they would move into forts in the fall of the year.
>
> Sometime in the summer, however, a man known in these mountains by the name of Walker, found that the people cared nothing about God, nor the instructions of br. Brigham, and br. Geo. A. Smith. So he said, 'I wonder if you will mind me,' and in less than one solitary week he had more than three hundred families on the move; houses were thrown down in every direction, and I presume one hundred thou-

sand dollars worth of property wasted. . . . In the counties of Utah, Juab, and San Pete, the houses were vacated, and the Indians got into them, and shot the brethren, so they had to be entirely demolished, which rendered it necessary for great numbers to move into forts. This has been affected by br. Walker. That blood-thirsty Indian, in this matter, had more influence to make the Saints obey counsel, than the Presidency of the Church had, and could actually kick up a bigger fuss in a few days, than they could, by simply telling them the will of the Lord. . . .

It appears probable to me, you might make more by going to parts of California, or Australia, than you can make even out on a farm in this country. If your object is to make as much earthly gain as possible, why not go where you can get the most of it? This business of having one hand in the golden honey-pots of heaven, and the other in the dark regions of hell,—undertaking to serve both God and mammon at once, will not answer. . . .

And I do further know . . . that if the counsel of Prest. Young had been observed, not one of the Saints would have lost their lives by an Indian. . . . There is no more necessity of having this Indian war, than there is of our going out to kill the cattle on the plains of Jordan, and leaving them for the wolves to devour. . . .

In the first place, there was a number of men wanted to go to Provo and make a settlement. . . . They went and made a beginning; they built something, but I never knew what it was. I have passed there . . . but I never could frame a name for the thing which they built. . . . They went to work and laid out a city. . . . The President of that company . . . wanted to set an example . . . so he goes up the creek, and found a splendid piece of farming land. He took his cabin from the miserable huddle they meant for a fort and put it on this piece of land, and said, 'now you poor brethren, (if he did not say it, I always thought he did) you stay in town, and I will remain here, and when I get rich I will remove to town.' Every man that wanted to get rich, went up the creek . . . and pretty much all the property went into the bushes, and there it remained until Walker spoke, and it was not a week after, before this good president and all who followed his brave example came bundling into town after he had put up a thing up the creek among the bushes, that I call one of the mysteries of the kingdom.

The Indian war is the result of our thinking we know better than our President. . . . When the Indians saw property scattered all over the plains, thousands of cattle and horses, with grain and everything spread before them in an unprotected condition, those that were evil minded among them, coveted our property and they thought we could not defend it; and sure enough we could not. . . . Indians can steal from us all the time, and we cannot take care of that which God has given us, because we have so much of it.

I know men are careless, women are careless; and if there is not greater care taken, women will be carried away prisoners, and their children will be murdered. . . . I tell you, in a country like this, women are scarce and hard to get, we have great need to care for them. . . . Walker himself has teased me for a white wife; and if any of the sisters will volunteer to marry him, I believe I can close the war forthwith. I am certain, unless men take better care of their women, Walker may supply himself on a liberal scale, and without closing the war either. In conclusion I will say, if any lady wishes to be Mrs. Walker, if she will report herself to me, I will agree to negotiate the match.[12]

Travelers were unfavorably impressed by the condition of the forts. Since grain and forage of all kinds, as well as cattle, were gathered within the forts, it would require only the surreptitious touching of a match to the stacks of grain to set off fire and confusion. Confident in its size and strength, Provo was the only settlement south of Big Cottonwood that made no attempt at fortification. Sporadic attacks continued during the winter, but the serious period of the Walker War was concluded. Squash, a belligerent war chief, was only restrained by bribes of cattle, blankets, and other articles. He claimed that a brother had died in his absence and had been buried by the people of Provo without observance of the Indian tradition that on burial not only everything in the shape of clothing that belonged to him must be buried with him, but also that some person must die to accompany him. To have killed this obstinate Indian or to have arrested him might have led to another Indian outbreak. "Squash was from the settlers point of view a very bad Indian, but from [the Indians'] a very good one, and the circumstances of the

people were not such as to warrant another Indian war, if a yoke of oxen and two Blankets would avert it."[13]

In 1854 Fort Utah began to be better known as Provo City. Two new industries were opened, a lime kiln and a saddlery. The morals of the citizens were protected by an ordinance passed by the City Council prohibiting gambling and horse racing on Sunday, and slapping a $25 fine on any violators. The Territorial Legislature passed a law authorizing the construction of a canal "from Utah Lake, or the outlet thereof above the rapids, to Great Salt Lake, a distance of about 40 miles, which, when completed, will furnish water for irrigating many thousand of acres of good land, which otherwise would remain comparatively useless."[14]

Although a peace of sorts had been established, the settlers decided to wall in their city. Several blocks were vacated, and the settlers moved into the city. The wall was to be 12 feet high and 6 feet wide at the bottom, tapering to a 2-foot width at the top, with an 18-inch rock foundation. Dominicus Carter recalled in 1941 that "the wall was never continuous, for while some men had finished their assignment, others had never done anything at it. The wall never did extend east of Fifth West, which was then Main Street, neither on the north nor the south." The last fragment, on the Lars Nelson property, was torn down in 1890, despite Mr. Carter's entreaties to preserve it as a landmark.[15]

Culture was brought to the citizens by several groups. The Provo Dramatic Association performed in the saloon in Harvey Redfield's Hotel before crowded houses.[16] William W. Cluff in one drama was so convincing in the role of a Mormon elder that he was promptly sent on a mission to Hawaii.[17] William Carter, assisted by James E. Daniels, organized a choir early in 1854, which sang only the plainest of choral music. Education, always one of the

first considerations among the settlers, was furnished by several private schools conducted in each ward.

On May 8, Brigham Young with his party floundered through mud and muck south through Provo to a council with the Indians near Nephi. S. N. Carvalho, hurrying to catch the governor's party, found Provo "a large settlement, containing about eight hundred and sixty families, equal to five thousand inhabitants, two thousand head of cattle, three thousand sheep, five hundred horses, several woollen factories and carding machines, shingle machines, two sawmills, a seminary and several schools, pottery, tannery, etc. Here are five hundred men capable of bearing arms. . . . Evan M. Green is mayor; Elias Blackburn, bishop. There are four bishops in this city."[18]

Brigham signed a treaty with Walker, but bands of Indians still harassed the settlers. Word was received of the scalping and mutilation in Cedar Valley, on August 8, of two sons of Allen Weeks. Young immediately wrote Weeks extending his sympathy and directing him "to seek out the guilty ones and deliver them to justice, but not to have feeling against those who were not guilty."[19] He further instructed William Huntington "to tell the [peaceful] Indians not to be afraid for no harm should befall them in consequence of the conduct of bad Indians." The settlers were told to act as though nothing had happened; in so doing they might induce the friendly Indians to turn in the others. It was decided to hold a feast at Provo and forestall any hard feelings. Three beeves were killed, and four barrels of biscuits furnished, together with a quantity of vegetables. Clothing was also distributed, under the direction of Interpreter George W. Bean.[20]

The feast failed to achieve its purpose, for the Indians bitterly resented the white man's methods of punishment when the two who had murdered the Weeks boys were sentenced by the District Court. They were also irritated

by the refusal of the settlers to aid in fighting the Snakes. The lives of George W. Bean, George A. Smith, and Isaac Higbee were threatened. Cattle were slaughtered and left on the ground. Almon W. Babbit wrote gloomily:

> From all appearances we are about to be merged in a general Indian war. On the 15th day of the present month [September] two Utah Indians were publicly executed near this city [Great Salt Lake City], having been legally tried in the U. S. Court, and condemned to death for the murder of two boys in Cedar Valley.
>
> Many of their tribe were in, and around the city, and although they admitted that they deserved death, yet they objected to the mode—to-wit: hanging by the neck. They immediately commenced their depredations in retalliation.
>
> About the same time a war party of the Snakes came into the city in pursuit of the Utahs, who had stolen a large number of their horses. They pursued them to Provo city and in the suburbs of the city attacked them, killed and wounded several. . . . The Utahs seemed to think that the Snakes were set on by the whites. . . . Col. Steptoe has taken up his quarters here for the winter. He has some 3 or 4 companies under his command. We trust that they will be useful to the country while they stay and relieve the citizens of a great tax, which has hung over them for many years.[21]

A few Indians continued raiding. Abel Butterfield reported on October 13 that Ferney F. Tinsall had been killed and scalped, and the Indians had ridden toward the other men gathering their crops. Butterfield ordered his companions to advance on the Indians as "though there was an army of us, and the Indians were frightened and fled before me as it was predicted in Kirtland . . . that the Lamanites should try and kill me and I should have the gift of tongues and even the earth should tremble at the sound of my voice and my enemies should be confounded and flee before me and also the angels should have charge over me, and I should have the power to do any miracle, if necessary, for the salvation of Israel. Some of the brethren said that my voice sounded like a clap of thunder."[22]

The death of Walker was an influence for peace. Although two Indian children and several horses had been killed by his tribesmen to relieve his suffering, he died at Meadow Creek, near Fillmore, on January 29, 1855. David Lewis reported the event to Brigham Young: "I . . . met the Utahs coming with Walker, and supporting him on a horse. He held out his hand, and shook hands, and seemed very glad to see me. He asked me if Brigham talked good. . . . I told him Brigham talked very good. . . . I showed him the letter you sent him, and I gave him all the articles you sent to him. . . . On the next morning, before day, the Pauvans came running to the fort, and said that Walker was dead, and the Utahs were mad; that they had killed two squaws, and two Piede Children . . . our people went out in the morning, and found that the Utahs had killed two Squaws, Piede prisoners, and two Piede children, and about twelve or fifteen of Walker's best horses. . . . They had buried Walker with the letter, and all the articles you sent to him. . . . Walker's last words to his people were not to kill the Mormon's cattle, nor steal from them. I was with him until he was struck with death. He was in his senses, and greatly desired to live. He possessed a good spirit. . . . As I was starting for the Fort he pressed my hand, and said, 'Come and see me again tomorrow, for I wish to have a long talk with you, but am too sick to talk now'."[23]

Walker's brother, Arrapene, became leader of the tribe. He informed the Indians that "he had a vision, in which Walker appeared to him and told him not to fight the Mormons, but cultivate peace with them . . . that the Indians who stole should be whipped and have a ball and chain put on them, but it was not good to kill them and spill their blood upon the land; that Arrapene was to relate what was communicated to him to Pres. Welcome Chapman and Counselor Higgins and Bishop Lowry and

they would write it. Arrapene was also informed that it was not good for the 'Mormons' to trade guns and ammunition to the Indians at present. . . . Arrapene saw three personages whose garments were as white as snow and as brilliant as the sun."[24]

The settlers again turned to the building of their wall, and music hall, and the Goddard, Pace and Company building. George A. Smith called them together on November 20, and "showed them the draft that President Young had furnished two years ago for a meeting house . . . read the bill of materials, and advised the brethren to get the rock and lumber on the ground this winter . . . the adobe work of the Higby and Smith's mill is completed; Horace Roberts has erected quite a large dwelling house, also Thomas Ivie; a number of others are in progress. . . . The people of Provo need their energies stirred on the subject of schools; although a town of 2500 inhabitants, its school facilities are behind any other in the Territory. . . . The harvest have generally been plentiful and a great portion of the grain are now in the bins. . . . Many were waking up on the subject of tithing, and making efforts to settle their arrearages."[25] He noted a little later, concerning the Dramatic Association: "Messrs. P. M. Westwood, the two Nuttalls, and William Allen, are hard to beat on a stage. . . . Mrs. Kelting, Miss Clarkson, and the other ladies did extremely well."[26]

VII

GRASSHOPPERS, FAMINE, INDIAN TROUBLE

NOT all settlers were fortunate enough to raise good crops. The grasshoppers wiped out some crop yields completely. Because of lack of forage on Antelope Island, in Great Salt Lake, the church moved its herds to Utah Valley in December, 1854. John Clark Dowdle relates that he "bgan work for Miles and Franklin Weaver, who were engaged at that time in herding stock for the church, they proferred giving me fifteen dollar per month which offer I accepted, and began labor on the above mentioned date. I first began cuting and puting up hay. . . . We labored at this work as long as Haying lasted . . . the church moved a large heard of cattle . . . for the winter . . . after the arrival of this stock my labors were changed. I was set to looking after the heard, in conection with several others. Riding on horse back in coold rain, snow, sleat, or wind enduring many hardships from cold and storm. . . . Spending our evening in song, singing and many other inocent amusements, our company was not made up of roughs, our associates were of such as, the Weaver Bros., two or three of President Youngs sons, Heber C. Kimball, Garr boys, Cris Newel and several others of the same stamp, the Sisters Weaver, Jane Clark formed some of our lay friends."[4]

The grasshoppers had been bad in 1854. Next year they appalled the settlers. "They darkened the air like a thick cloud as they came down upon the fields. They cov-

ered all the valleys of Utah. The crops everywhere were destroyed. The valleys appeared as though scorched with fire." Forty lodges of Indians encamped in the Old Fort threw down the fence, and turned their horses and cattle into the wheat. The act was the more aggravating because only this field had been spared by the locusts. The grasshoppers continued to ravage the crops; the farmers plowed and sowed a second time, and a second time the ground was stripped of vegetation. The sage and grease-wood bushes were black with locusts.[2] "About two-thirds of the grain in Utah County is destroyed," reported George A. Smith, "and a large black bug is devouring the potatoes. All the farms south . . . are nearly a desert. This is rather a dark picture, but I regret to say it is not overdrawn. Myriads of grasshoppers, like snow flakes in a storm, occasionally fill the air . . . as far as the eye can reach."[3] Nevertheless he reflected a little later, "It is good there is something to try the Saints, or the sieve would not have its cleansing effect as it now does."[4]

A kind Providence sent the harassed settlers a sweet substance which covered the leaves of the trees. Sugar was always scarce, and this unexpected manna brought scores of men, women, and children out gathering. "When it was first discovered some said it was honey dew, others said that it proceeded from the Cotton wood leaves, but it is found on all kinds of leaves and on the rocks . . . many of the leaves have scales of this sweet substance as thick as window glass, and some a great deal thicker. Br. Daniels' . . . process is to cut the twigs from the trees, and after soaking in water, strain and boil, similar to making maple sugar."[5] Later the *Deseret News* noted, "Sugar making at Provo, we are glad to learn, continues to be a profitable employment. Cannot the saccharine be removed from the leaves without giving their flavor to the sugar?"[6] That would seem a case of looking very ungratefully indeed

into the mouth of the gift horse. There is no record of the harvest being repeated in other years.

Few years have been more eventful for Provo than those between 1855 and 1859. The grasshoppers of '55 scourged the country bare, and the bitter cold and high-drifting snows of the winter completed the work of devastation. Cattle died everywhere of cold and starvation. The year that followed was a famine year. The people of Provo lived largely on roots, greens, and fish. Flour sold for a dollar a pound, yet some traded it to their fellows at the standard tithing price of $6 a hundredweight. Privation was great, but nobody starved; the people retained their humane integrity, the fellowship by which they had builded their community.[7] John E. Booth wrote slyly of this year, "President Young recommended that the people glean the harvest fields, and also that the field owners be not too close in raking the grain. . . . He did not however marry all the gleaners."[8] They could "gant up their belts," knowing that a better time would come. They had around them the fruits of their six years' labor; a solidly built, partially walled city of some 2,000 inhabitants, networked by canals and bulwarked by broad farms, proud in the possession of a town hall, a church and bowery, a tithing office, five schools, two hotels, a number of mills, a public library, a musical society, and a dramatic association. Ambitious manufacturing enterprises were projected for the town.[9] The townspeople could hold to their faith in God's design.

The Indian troubles were finally settled. Both Brigham Young and Garland Hurt, Indian Agent, expressed the conviction that less money spent for troops to quell the Indians, and more spent for presents, farm implements, seeds, teams, and agents would go far in solving the Indian problem. Young reminded the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington that two years had passed

since Congress had appropriated $40,000 "for the express purpose of making treaties, &c, with the Indians in Utah, that their lands have been traversed by Government surveying parties now almost a year, and still not one dollar of that appropriation has yet been expended within this superintendency, and for aught I know is still fast in the coffers at Washington. Is this just? Has it any precedent in usage towards tribes in any other State or Territory?"[10]

That refractory Indian, Squash, was lured to Springville by a friendly Indian. He was arrested on charges of murder and robbery. While lodged in a barn, awaiting trial, he took his life. There was little mourning among the settlers. It was even suggested that his throat had been cut for him.[11]

The economic situation improved after harvesting began in the summer of 1856, but a new complexity entering into the lives of the people was the "Reformation" promulgated by the church leaders during the autumn of 1856. For several years past the church authorities had felt the people to be walking less sternly under the eye of God than their responsible membership in the Church demanded, and the time had come for a change. In Provo, as all over the Territory of Utah, ward officials walked among the brethren, catechizing them as to their sins, urging them to forsake error, confess, and be baptized in a renewal of their covenant with the Lord. The catechizers were instructed that they were not at liberty to pry into sins that were between a person and his or her God, but such persons were to be encouraged "to confess to the proper authorities that the adversary may not have an opportunity to take advantage of human weakness and thereby destroy souls."[12] The fervent Saints responded, and in all the wards in Provo the people were rebaptized for remission of their sins.

The aroused religious spirit was shortly tried in a stern

crucible. Accepting the allegations of Judges W. W. Drummond and George P. Stiles that the Mormons were in open rebellion against the United States, President James Buchanan in the summer of 1857 issued an order terminating Brigham Young's governorship and ordering General W. H. Harney to proceed west with United States troops and quell the rebellion. Brigham received the news calmly. To the children of God he recalled that he had promised the Saints that if they went unmolested for ten years, they should ask no odds of their enemies. They had been granted the ten years; now with the aid of God they should deal with their foes.

The militia was called out, scouts were sent to report progress of the army, and guerilla companies departed to stampede army stock, burn supply trains, and, in general, to harass the approaching army. Military districts were organized. Peter W. Conover headed the Provo District, David Evans the Lehi District, and Aaron Johnson the Peteetneet area.[13]

While the people of Utah prepared for defense, Captain Stewart Van Vliet came in advance of the army to interview the Mormon leaders. Brigham Young told him bluntly that the army should be resisted. The Mormons had no faith in the good intentions of the Government. "We do not want to fight the United States," he said, "but if they drive us to it, we shall do the best we can; and I will tell you, as the Lord lives, we shall come off conquerors."[14]

Lot Smith was dispatched with a company of horsemen to burn the forage in the path of the army and to turn back or burn the army supply trains. He was signally successful, but even had the army not been harassed by Mormon guerillas, it should in all likelihood have been unable to penetrate to Great Salt Lake Valley before winter snows choked the mountain passes. With great hardship

the Utah Expedition got as far west as Black's Fork, and there it went into winter quarters, at Camp Scott, a few miles from the charred remains of Fort Bridger, which had been abandoned by the Mormons.

In the East that old friend of the Mormons, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, called upon President Buchanan to ascertain whether some peaceful solution of the "Mormon War" could be found. Although Buchanan does not appear to have vested in him any official authority, Kane left at once for Great Salt Lake City via Panama and California. He arrived February 25, and, after a conference with the Mormon leaders, made his way on to Camp Scott, arriving there March 12.[15]

Kane proposed to Alfred Cumming, the new governor, that he come in to Great Salt Lake City alone, to ascertain for himself that the Mormons were not in a state of rebellion. The soldiers, spoiling for a fight after the humiliation of the profitless winter, were "very much incensed against this man Kane," Captain Jesse A. Gove wrote his wife, "It is thought that the Governor is completely fooled by him. . . . If Gov. C. has been so far fooled by this nincompoop of a Mr. Col. Kane, he is a bigger fool than I thought him to be."[16] But on April 5 Cumming set out from Camp Scott with the Philadelphia friend of the Mormons. He arrived in Great Salt Lake City on April 12.[17]

He was caught in the flood of a great southward migration. A Mormon council on March 18 had decided to abandon resistance to the army and enter upon a hegira into the deserts. To the settlements in northern Utah Brigham Young sent word to prepare for migration, leaving behind only enough men to fire the houses and crops in the event the troops proved unalterably hostile. Evacuation began at once from all settlements north of Utah County. The settlers packed their wagons, hitched their

teams, and set out for Provo. "We left our comfortable homes," reminisced Margaretta Pierce Young, "with the expectation of never looking upon them again. I need not say we were sad and almost heartsick. . . . After so happy a respite from drivings, we were once more upon the move! Where we would be led we could not tell; what the government would inflict upon us we knew not."[18] From Weber County alone some three or four thousand persons were led by Lorin Farr to encampment in wagons, tents, and wickiups of long canes and flags in the bottoms of the Provo River.[19]

Cumming attempted to dissuade the people from leaving their homes. They paid him no heed. Brother Brigham had said for them to go. Cumming could win from the Mormon authorities only the doubtful assurance that if the troops, on their entrance into Great Salt Lake Valley, should comport themselves responsibly, the people would return.

VIII

PROVO AND "THE MOVE"

THIRTY thousand brought their high-piled wagons south into Utah Valley. Accommodations of the crudest kind were all that Provo could offer. All were crowded into the settlers' homes who could be, and every assistance given those forced to camp out. Temporary houses were built by the Church on the public square. "The north side was full, while on the west the buildings ran halfway down. They were built close together like a fort, some of them to stow grain in. Brigham occupied several of them. In the center of the block was a large marque tent, for a storehouse."[1] As summer ripened, the weather became unbearably hot. "The water was bad," remembered Lorin Farr, "as we had to dig holes to get water, and the people began to complain of sickness. The feed had also been all eaten off by the cattle, our cows dried up, flies were very bad tormenting our cattle, and it was with great difficulty that we controlled our stock from running off."[2]

Meanwhile a revulsion of feeling in the East had induced the Government to send a Peace Commission to Utah. The Mormon leaders negotiated with this Commission in June, arriving at last at an amicable compromise; not admitting themselves guilty of the crimes for which the Utah Expedition had been sent against them, they granted themselves guilty of having burned Government wagon trains and other property, and for these acts they asked pardon.

In mid-June the army broke camp on Black's Fork, and came into Salt Lake Valley. Crossing the Jordan, they marched southwest to establish Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley, west of Utah Lake.

The people still waited for some sign from Brigham Young. They were given their answer on June 30: "All who wish to return to their homes in Great Salt Lake City are at liberty to do so." Young himself led the way.[3]

The peace and quiet that had been anticipated did not materialize. Judges Eckles, Sinclair, and Cradlebaugh brought with them to Utah harsh preconceptions of the kind of people with whom they had to deal, and a determination that these people should answer for their "crimes." Sinclair convened his court in Great Salt Lake City in October, 1858, instructing his grand jury to direct especial attention to treason and polygamy; on the former point he refused to recognize the pardon granted by President Buchanan until the pardon should have received judicial sanction; on the latter he acknowledged that the Federal and Territorial statutes were blank, but held that an investigation should be made of the extent of the practice; in a session of a hundred days, however, Sinclair's court accomplished absolutely nothing.[4]

Ignoring the Territorial law which provided that the Second Judicial Court should meet at Fillmore, Cradlebaugh announced that his court should convene at Provo. It was reported that after a session at Provo he proposed adjourning his court first to Camp Floyd and then to Mountain Meadows.[5] His selection of Provo as a seat for his court was doubtless based on its proximity to Camp Floyd, and on the fact that some murders had taken place in Utah County, which might better be investigated at close range.

For their part, the Mormon authorities were quick to recognize Cradlebaugh's antagonistic purpose; on March

2, 1859, Brigham Young, talking with George A. Smith about the latter's purpose of going to Provo, advised Smith "to be somewhere near the Court and he said he would like as little business to be brought before the Court as possible."[6]

On March 8 Cradlebaugh organized his court in the Old Seminary in Provo. To the astonishment of the citizenry he had in attendance a detachment of 100 soldiers from Camp Floyd, furnished on request by Brevet Brigadier General Albert Sidney Johnston. The troops, Cradlebaugh explained, were designed to save the community expense, as there was no jail, and if the laws were carried out, there would be a great many prisoners who could be guarded by the troops without expense.[7] With a typical misapprehension of the society with which he had to deal, Cradlebaugh conceived that, with the protection of troops, citizens crushed in Mormon "bondage" would be quick to overthrow the tyranny under which they had lived; thus he would perform a notable public service in accomplishing what the Utah Expedition had not—overturning Mormon society, neck, heels, and crop.

On the contrary, the people of Provo promptly denied the need of a "walking calaboose" and saw in its presence a crude attempt to intimidate the city. On March 10 the mayor and city council were memorialized by the citizens "to order the removal . . . from our midst" of troops whose presence constituted "a gross violation of our liberties and municipal immunities."[8] Accordingly the city council requested of Cradlebaugh the immediate removal of the troops beyond the city limits. The Judge replied by ordering up 900 additional men from Camp Floyd.[9]

Despite the counsel of the Mormon authorities to keep aloof and allow Cradlebaugh to "fizzle out," there was grave danger of a clash, which might have fiery consequences. Dissatisfied with Cradlebaugh's authority to surround himself with a military escort, Governor Cumming came to Provo on March 14 to investigate. On the 20th he officially requested General Johnston to withdraw the troops and so dispose them as to "relieve the inhabitants from the influence of a military encampment in their vicinity." Johnston declined to accede, on the grounds that his instructions required him to cooperate with the judicial as well as with the executive departments of the Territorial government. In a proclamation, Cumming thereupon protested the whole affair, and forthwith addressed to the U. S. Attorney-General at Washington an official letter of protest.[10]

Meanwhile Cradlebaugh was by no means successful in his attempt to utilize the grand jury in incriminating the authorities of the Church as being finally responsible for crimes committed in Utah. After two weeks, he peremptorily dismissed the grand jury as being "an evidently useless appendage of a court of justice." Announcing his intention to discharge Indians who had been held to answer for rape, he advised the jury, "When this people come to their reason, and manifest a disposition to punish their own high offenders, it will be time to enforce the law also for their protection. If this court cannot bring you to a proper sense of your duty, it can at least turn the savages in custody loose upon you."[11] Ignoring the protests of the discharged grand jury, Cradlebaugh continued to sit as a committing magistrate, examining and binding over for future trial those accused of various crimes.

Cradlebaugh usurped the functions of the Territorial Attorney-General in the conduct of his court, and the functions of the Territorial Marshal and Territorial Governor in requisitioning troops; the U. S. Attorney-General settled both matters immediately upon receiving the Utah correspondence.[12] Even before word returned from Washington, however, Johnston had thought it expedient to

remove the greater part of his troops. Cradlebaugh adjourned court and retired spectacularly with the soldiery. "Immediately upon adjournment of the court . . ." the *Deseret News* reports, "the troops under command of Capt. Heth commenced their march from the Seminary lot and stationed themselves in the main street. At this juncture 16 platoons of infantry, averaging from 25 to 30 in each platoon, one company of cavalry and a detachment of artillery, with two brass pieces, entered the city by the north gateway, commanded by Major Paul. They proceeded down the main street, their martial band playing the tune that goes to the well known song, 'Doo Dah.' At a point about 3 blocks south of the Seminary, they wheeled and commenced their return march, the band playing 'The Girl I Left Behind Me.' When 8 platoons of infantry had past the court house, a halt was called, and Capt. Heth's company, with the prisoners, were marched into the centre of Major Paul's command, and the grand military denouement was consummated by the whole force taking up its line of march for Camp Floyd."[13]

Cradlebaugh did not return. John Jacques restrainedly expressed the public sentiment: "This Judge Cradlebaugh is quite a curiosity in his way. Not content with his own official powers, he has evinced his anxiety to dip into the functions of the marshal, the gaoler, the counsel, the jury; and if his impatience had given chance for any capital conviction, he would probably have aspired to the dignity of Jack Ketch! Cradlebaugh has attained the title here of 'one-eyed Jeffries'."[14]

Better times were at hand. In 1860 news of the departure of General Albert Sidney Johnston from Camp Floyd came as a portent; Mormons spoke of him as "an officer and a gentleman."[15] Shortly after his departure in April, Secretary of War John B. Floyd issued an order reducing the size of the garrison at Camp Floyd to three "com-

panies of the 2nd Dragoons, three companies of 4th Artillery (including the Battery) now there, and four companies of the 10th infantry." The remainder of the force was to be withdrawn as early as possible.[16]

Although the order created no stir in Provo, there was a lessening of the tension that had hung over the city. Patiently the citizens awaited the final evacuation of the troops. They would still have to deal with the camp followers and hangers-on who would be left behind, but that situation could be met.

The summer of 1860 passed peacefully. By winter William Clayton was able to report: "We have had very quiet, peaceable times. There is none of that obstreperous rowdyism which was so prevalent here a year ago. As to Camp Floyd . . . if it were not that we absolutely know of their existence, we should be led to view it as a matter pertaining to 'long, long ago' so little mention is made of either Camp Floyd or its inhabitants."[17]

In July of 1861 the last of the army departed from Camp Floyd, recently rechristened Fort Crittenden. At a public sale more than $4,000,000 worth of Government property, with the exception of guns and ammunition, clothing, wagons and teams, were sold for approximately $100,000. William Clayton wrote, "They will move away for the States within two weeks, and thus end the great Buchanan Expedition, costing the Government millions, and accomplishing nothing, except making the Saints comparatively rich, and improving the circumstances of the people of Utah. You may well believe that merchants and speculators look blue and gloomy enough and the true Saints feel well in proportion; while some, who think more of money and riches than they do of eternal life, feel nearly as bad as the Gentiles."[18]

"Among the many lessons taught the people of this generation," moralized the Mormons, "respecting the utter

futility of any attempt on [the Gentiles'] part to injure or retard the progress of the Church . . . there are none . . . that stand out so prominently before the world as that resulting from the sending of the United States' army to Utah." Gilbert Clements expressed the viewpoint of many: "The troops are gone. Camp Floyd, which for three years past has resounded with the orgies of the ungodly and become a nest for every unclean thing, has reverted to its wonted quietude and simplicity. Sometimes I regret that I never visited it; yet at other times I feel grateful that I have kept myself entirely aloof, from Gentile influences and associations. I did not attend the sale, though many have made fortunes by so doing. The vast stores of groceries, provisions, and the vast material of the 'gallant army' were sold for a mere song."[19]

The winter of 1861-62 was unusually mild, but the people of Provo suffered for the want of fuel. Utah Lake did not freeze over, thus preventing the settlers from crossing the lake to get the juniper wood they depended upon. Heavy rains had washed out the newly built $20,000 Provo Canyon road in several places, forcing those living in Provo Valley to make a wide circle in order to reach the city.[20] Mud hindered the passage of wagons, and deep snows in the mountains isolated the settlements in Wasatch County. The lives of those living in the canyons were endangered by snow slides.[21]

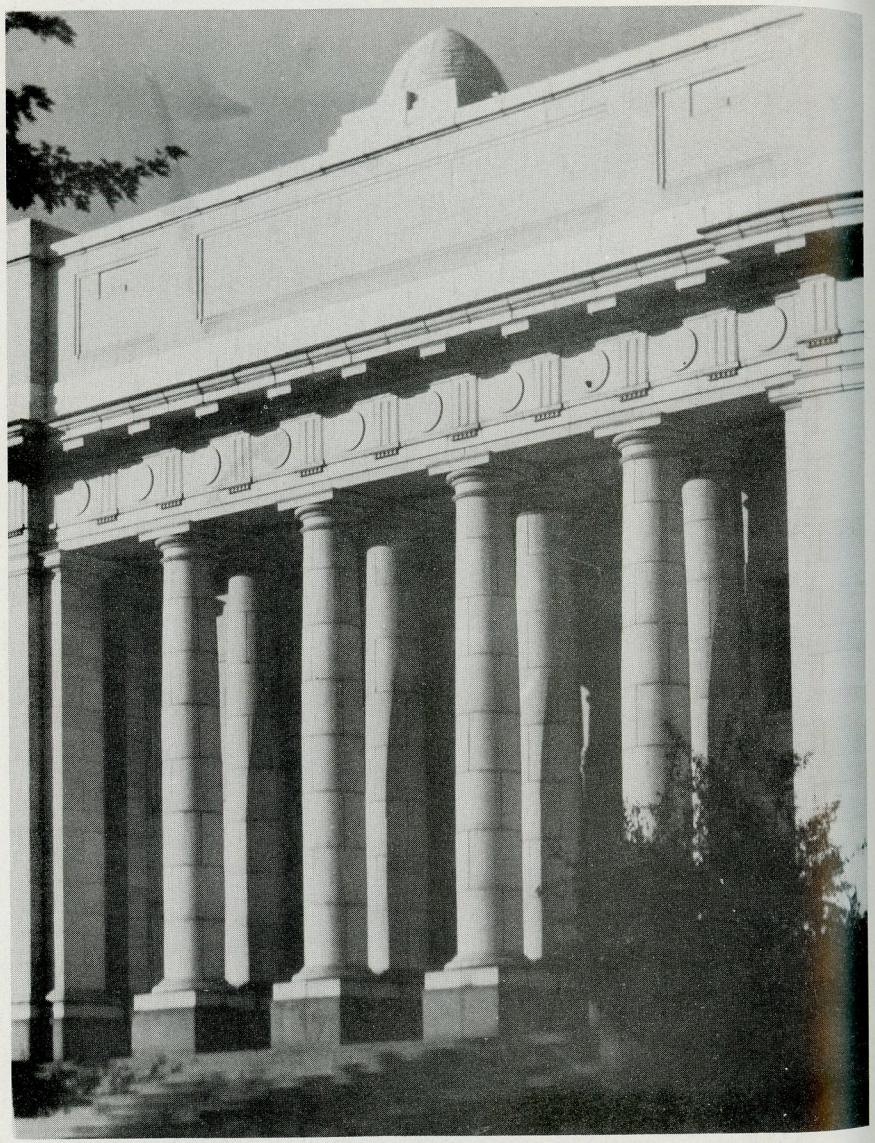
In the fall of 1862 work was commenced upon the flooded road through Provo Canyon. Funds were raised by voluntary contribution. Shadrach Holdaway, Charles Kennedy, and Daniel W. Jones were chosen as a committee. Jones found funds so hard to raise that finally he sold his farm to help on the road. "By the time the road was finished and paid for," he says ruefully, "I had no individual use for it."[22]

It was also necessary to improve the roads connecting

TYPICAL FARM SCENE, PROVO, UTAH.

BOAT ACTIVITY AND CROWDS AT UTAH LAKE.

PROVO CLASSIC CITY AND COUNTY BLDG.



MAESER MEMORIAL BUILDING, Brigham Young University, Provo.

the towns. Most important of these undertakings was repair to the road around the Point of the Mountain, joining Salt Lake City and Provo, which was begun in the spring of 1863. Another road led from Fairview, in Sanpete County, over the divide and far "down Spanish Fork Creek."

Peter W. Conover, who had moved to Midway, rode in to Provo. "Brigham was sitting by a window and saw me . . . stuck his head out of the window and said he wanted to see me right after meeting. I dismounted and staid until the meeting was out . . . he said he wanted me to go up to Bishop Miller's as he wanted to talk with me. . . . I remonstrated. Said I, Brother Brigham my little boy got scalded very badly, and I have come to get salve for him and I want to go right back. Well, said he, you come with me and your boy shall be all right. I went with him. . . . Said he, I want you to come back to Provo, as we cannot do without you. Said I, I have no place to come to. O well, said he, you can live where any one else can. . . . I packed up and moved back to Provo."[23] The scalded "little boy," Hammer, was, in fact, "all right."

William Fuller wrote the English Saints of the fullness of his life here: "I have now a cow, a yearling calf, four sheep, two pigs in the pen, and a fat one on the shelf, enough potatoes, or more, to last me till they come in again, about twenty gallons of molasses, chickens almost out of number, and if I stay . . . I shall fence in about three acres, and plant my orchard this spring, and get some two or three acres of hay land, and then put up my house, which is already paid for. . . . I am . . . surrounded by snow-capped mountains, our homes might be inaccessible to the stranger, if it was so willed. Being without rains, the blossoms in the wilderness is only forced by the sweat of the industrious. Being isolated from civilization, we have not enough modern vices to attract the vile in heart, and,

withal being united by one faith, we have not enough dissension (political or religious) for modern greatness to flounder in. So here we are in peace and amity; contented as 'Mormons' led and ruled by our Father, through Brigham Young, his chieftain upon earth."[24]

G. E. Grave wrote his friends similarly in 1867: "I have lived here since the 13th of October, 1866, followed my trade (tailoring), had sufficient employment to procure the necessaries of life, keep out of debt, and to pay my Tithing. I also think of buying twenty acres of land this spring . . . to grow grain, build a house, and dedicate the whole to God. I may here state, that when I arrived in Provo, all the money I possessed was one dollar and a-half, (six shillings and eight pence), a very small sum to arrive in England with, with a wife and four children to provide for; yet . . . I have never wanted, neither had occasion to work so many hours in a day as in London. . . . As regards the people of this Territory, to me they are the people of God, doing, as a general thing, the best they know how . . . our property is safe in and out of our dwellings, the virtue of our wives and daughters are protected . . . and every person is at liberty to worship God or not . . . unmolested."[25] It may be realized how words like these sounded to Mormon converts struggling against poverty in crowded English cities; the passion for "gathering to Zion" took fire at such news.

The coming of Colonel Patrick E. Connor's army to Great Salt Lake City, in 1862, awakened interest in mining. Fresh from the California gold fields, Connor's men scattered over the mountain ranges of Utah, and made several important strikes. The settlers remained aloof from the excitement, having been warned by Brigham Young to tend to their crops, but they envisioned factories, mills, and other profitable enterprises that would follow any rich mineral discovery.

In 1864 Congress made provision for extinguishing Indian titles to agricultural and mineral lands in Utah. Colonel O. H. Irish, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, called a council of tribes at Spanish Fork Reservation on June 8, 1865. Central Utah's Black Hawk War, which broke out in April, pointed the necessity of settling the Indians upon lands of their own, away from the heavily populated districts. On June 5, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, F. D. Richards, and George Q. Cannon, with others, left Salt Lake City for the meeting place. Colonel Irish accompanied the party as U. S. Commissioner to make a treaty "involving [the Indian] title to various reservations in Utah, and their removal to Uintah Valley as a permanent reservation."[26]

In Springville welcoming bands blared, and citizens lined the streets. Children bowed and tossed flowers. "Just outside Spanish Fork, an escort met the President, which passing through the city, headed towards the Indian Reservation. A few minutes brought us into the middle of the lodges and wick-i-ups of the Indians, which were erected on either side of the road, and an astonishing 'how'ing and handshaking was got through in a short time." The Indians were represented by Sow-e-ett, Wonosh, Tabby, To-quo-ne, San-pitch, and eleven other chiefs. Dimick B. Huntington and George Washington Bean acted as interpreters.[27]

Colonel Irish laid down the terms of the treaty in plain language. Kanosh then rose and addressed the assemblage. He remarked "that Sow-e-ett was the big chief, he was only a boy, and would like to hear his father speak, but he said that they had no land to sell, they had given it all to Brigham long ago, their fathers had lived and died and were buried there, and they wished to live and die and be buried there, too. . . . Brigham we know, but the Washington Chief we do not know, and his agents we do not

know for anything good. He has sent us many and they were all liars, spoke two ways, and would speak one way and act another. Perhaps Irish is good, we do not know him, mayhap he is like to others, will talk two ways. Brigham we do know, for he has always talked one way, and that for our good; he is not like the big chief at Washington, who would get mad at a little thing, and send his boys to kill the first Indian they could find, whether they deserved it or not. He did not care for any presents if he had to get them that way, but if the big chief wished him to have any, he would feel to take them and be glad. He could not see that it would be any advantage for them to leave, for already they had one child, and the Mormons had three or four; and if they did go away, he wished to know where they (the Mormons) were to be put, he did not know unless they went up to heaven. . . . Sanpitch did not like such very small talk, wished to talk big—attempted it and broke down, and had to quit because there was nothing big in him. Kanosh wished to know if Brigham had known anything about the treaty before he came there, and if he had studied it over; if so, he wished Brigham to speak, which he did. . . . He told them that the big chief had intended to sell their land without recompensing them at all, but . . . they had concluded to give them something for it; told them the land was not theirs nor the Mormons', nor the big Chief's, but it was the Lord's, and he, Brigham, wished them to take all they could get from the big Chief. . . . They could come back to fish, and gather berries, and see him and talk with him . . . only they must not interfere with any occupied lands, as he was going to fill this valley with people, and the next and next, and all of them. . . . Next day the treaty was signed by all but Sanpitch."[28] Sanpitch went subsequently to Great Salt Lake City to sign also.

Under the terms of the treaty the Indians were to move

to Uinta Valley within a year. They were to be peaceful and not war with other tribes except in self defense nor steal from nor molest the whites. They were to assist in cultivating the reservation lands and to send their children to schools established for them. In turn the United States Government promised to extend its protection over them. Farms were to be laid out, grist and lumber mills built, schools established, houses furnished and annuities paid to the principal chiefs; and to the tribes $25,000 paid for the first ten years, $20,000 annually for the next twenty years, and $15,000 annually for thirty years thereafter.[29]

Brigham Young remarked later that if the superintendent needed any evidence that "our humane and fatherly treatment of the Indians had had its effect, and given us justly grounded influence," the talks given by the chiefs should have convinced him.[30]

IX

ERA OF IMPROVEMENTS

Forsyth

THE event of 1867 was the completion of the Provo meeting house. The citizens had been trying since 1852 to erect the structure. In 1861, after departure of the army, walls were erected, and most of the timbers for the roof and tower were procured "by donation and on labor tithing," under the supervision of A. H. Scott. A voluntary assessment of 3 percent, levied in 1863, permitted roofing of the building and raising of the timbers of the tower in the spring of 1864. Although Brigham Young prayed, "'Ye people of Provo, build that house' . . . no effectual movement was made until Feb. '65." At a mass meeting A. F. Macdonald, M. Tanner, and Thomas Allman were appointed to draft means for raising money to finish the building.

The completed structure was 81 feet long and 47 feet wide, with an 80-foot tower. "The basement is well suited for Priesthood and public meetings and Sunday schools. The upper room has a gallery, with pews on the main floor, and capable of seating about 1100 persons. The pulpit, aisles, vestibules, are beautifully finished and with their carpeting, the work of our faithful sisters, gives an air of taste and comfort to all. The vestry, additional to the plan, about 20 feet by 20 feet, has been built. There is a bell in the tower, a clock in front of the gallery, and an excellent organ, imported by D. O. Calder." The approximate cost of the building was $74,544, and it was

dedicated on August 24-25, 1867, with Brigham Young as the principal speaker.[1]

A. Gardner took the contract to bridge the Provo River for $7,000, on a site selected by Brigham Young. The citizens pitched in with a vigor to better their surroundings.[2] A. F. Macdonald wrote in May that "the crops look well, and the prevailing faith and feeling of the people is that we will have fair crops, although much damage has been done by the 'hoppers' . . . and large numbers are passing down our ditches to the river and lake. Provo River is rising fast. The piles are down for the new bridge. . . . We have made a canal from the river to irrigate about 5,000 acres of land on the Provo bench. . . . [A. O.] Smoot and [E. F.] Sheets are building a store for Kimball and Laurence of Salt Lake City. . . . We will soon have the Provo Canon Road open again. . . . The people of Wasatch have made the road about half way down the canon from Heber City, but this end of the road is the most costly as there are a number of rocky bluffs to blast through—cost about $40,000."[3]

Improvements maintained a high level all through 1868; in the autumn the *Deseret News* reported that "Provo ranks as the second city, in point of population and importance, in the Territory. . . . Its water power is immense . . . [and it will] when the right time comes, be put to use." New homes and barns were listed as under construction, and A. O. Smoot was reported favoring concrete for residences in preference to adobe.[4]

Coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869 was crucial in the development of Provo as it was in that of every town in the Territory of Utah. Provo had hoped, in the beginning, that the route of the transcontinental railroad would bring it to Utah Valley; Stansbury in 1850 had recommended such a route.[5] In 1854, in memorializing Congress for a railroad, the legislature suggested a line

that reached "the eastern outcrop of the rich and thick bituminous coal-beds . . . where strong indication of rich iron ore beds were also noticed, and pursues its easy grade across Green river, near the mouth of Henry's Fork, an affluent from the West, whose outlet is just above Brown's Hole; thence up Henry's Fork, and across Bear river and Weber river . . . and down the Timpanogos, or Provo river, into Utah Valley. From the mouth of the canon of Provo river, by the north end of Utah Lake, to Walker's river pass in the Sierra Nevada, the face of the country is nearly dead level. . . . The mouth of the Timpanogos . . . opens immediately upon the eastern edge of Utah Valley, near Provo City, which will ere long, be rich and powerful. . . . This is the most eligible point for branching through a rich chain of fortunately located valleys to Oregon on the one hand, and San Diego on the other."[6]

After Congress authorized construction of the Pacific railroad, the Division Engineer of the Union Pacific Company, in 1864 examined the Provo Canyon route,[7] but it was decided that there was no need to build over an extra divide when the Weber Canyon line was practicable. Engineers of the Central Pacific likewise preferring the route north of Great Salt Lake, the "iron horse" found its way to Ogden rather than to Provo.

Before 1869 Provo was Utah's second city. It had a population in 1860 of 2,030, and in 1870, the year after completion of the railroad, of 2,384. By comparison Ogden listed 1,463 inhabitants in 1860, and 3,127 in 1870. What a railroad meant was shown even more graphically in the census figures for 1880 and 1890; in the former year Provo listed 3,432 inhabitants to Ogden's 6,069, and in the latter 5,159 to Ogden's 12,880. Yet the loss of its distinction as Utah's second city, in consequence of Ogden's mushroom growth, was not altogether a disadvantage. Provo maintained its identity as a solid Mormon

town, a place with character and a flavor suited to the people and the country. "Gentile" business did not flood into Provo as into Ogden, yet Provo maintained itself as a supply center for all southern Utah, and its business enterprises, such as the Timpanogos Manufacturing Company, which was organized on June 1, 1869, with a million-dollar capital,[8] had a solid meaning for the people of Utah. It may be questioned, likewise, whether Brigham Young Academy, later Brigham Young University, would have been established in Provo had a railroad made a happy-go-lucky hell-roarer of the town. Provo may still weigh the advantages with the disadvantages in its loss of the transcontinental railroad.

During 1869 the Provo Bench Canal was completed. Another ditch was proposed for farms near Utah Lake. Although the grasshoppers invaded the grain fields, the "crops on the bench, especially the cane, were very good."[9] The discovery of a coal bed near Spanish Fork resulted in the introduction of cheaper fuel, and, indirectly, in the founding of new industries that had been handicapped by the expense and scarcity of fuel. Hans Carlson opened the mine, naming it the Mammoth Coal Mine.[10] By autumn it was found that the coal was "admirably adapted to the wants of blacksmiths."[11]

The building boom continued through 1869; by November 11, the new co-operative store neared completion, and the fence around the Public Square was well advanced, while men were working on the vestry of the Tabernacle, and on a large gristmill. A new school had been organized "under the supervision of well-qualified gentlemen."[12] This was the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret.

Before the year was out, a military post, Camp Rawlins, was located in Provo on the bench above the town. In September, 1870, forty or fifty soldiers stationed there

raided Provo. A. O. Smoot on September 23 wired to Salt Lake City a detailed account of the outrages committed. William Miller's home had been fired, doors and windows smashed, and Miller taken prisoner. At the A. F. McDonald home every outside door and window had been demolished, and the E. F. Sheets home suffered the same treatment. The soldiers attempted to fire the meeting house, and stoned the windows of the Co-operative Boot and Shoe Shop and the Co-operative Store. "The raiders were armed with U. S. needle guns, with bayonets and revolvers . . . they captured several citizens . . . some of whom were severely beaten before they could make their escape." Smoot reported later the same day that drunken soldiers had caused the trouble. "We have had an interview with Major Osborne, the commander of the post, who seems to regret the occurrence very much."[13]

Governor Shaffer, after five days' silence, addressed an open letter to General P. De Trobriand which, however, he handed to the *Deseret Evening News*. The governor accused the general of neglect of duty, failure to report the incident, and refusal to turn the culprits over to the civil authorities.[14] The *News* commented dryly, "we are glad to know that the Governor is becoming aroused. . . . It is now upwards of twenty years since the settlement . . . of Provo. . . . But . . . at a time of profound peace . . . a detachment of troops must . . . be sent there as special guardians of right and liberties. . . . Is not this a most extraordinary proceeding?"[15]

De Trobriand's reply blistered the mail pouch. "Sir, I was in Provo City, and had been there three days when, yesterday evening, I was informed for the first time, by public papers, that during my absence I had been honored with a letter from you. . . . That the object of your letter is more public than with myself is sufficiently shown by the fact that it was published in the *Deseret Evening News* even before the original reached Camp Douglas . . . you will allow me . . . to point out to you some of the mistakes, misstatements, wrong insinuations and erroneous implications which it contains."

De Trobriand reminded the governor that the Commander of Camp Douglas had no right to interfere with happenings at Camp Rawlins unless ordered to do so by the War Department. He called the governor's attention to the fact that military reports are not made public by officers. He informed the governor that he had been on the scene since the day after the riot, and that "it did not take me five minutes to do my duty, while it took you five days to consider in which way most suitable to your purpose you could appear to do yours."[16] The governor was told that it was his business—not the general's—to report such occurrences to the army. "Perhaps you would like to know the cause of this persistent refusal of the civil authorities at Provo to take charge of the prisoners . . . first . . . there is no jail in the city . . . second a legal decision of recent date having withdrawn the criminal cases from the jurisdiction of the Probate Court, the prisoners, would soon be released on a writ of habeas corpus. The insistence of your Excellency to have the prisoners in the hands of the civil authorities . . . could not be in prevision of such contingency. Oh! certainly not. . . . If the presence of the 'U. S. soldiery' interferes in any way with the harmonious workings of your 'happy family', a single order from Washington may settle the question . . . letting you alone to the full enjoyment of that popularity which so distinguishes your administration and surrounds your person in the Territory of Utah." De Trobriand saw fit to add a postscript. "As you were pleased to send your communication to the *Deseret Evening News* for publication, I hope you will not have any objection to my using the same privilege for this answer."[17]

If the governor replied to General De Trobriand, the answer was not made public.

Army investigation revealed that the affair was started by a group of disgruntled soldiers, who, finding their advances coolly received by the Mormons, had drunk themselves into a rage. Depositions made by the victims all stressed the fact that "spite" was the leading motive. The Mormons had refused to rent the soldiers a hall for a supper and dancing party. This brought the strained relations to a head, and, after several hours' drinking, they had started out on their rampage.[18]

Brigham Young took no part in the affair. He wrote the *Millennial Star*, "it will not be necessary for me to enter into the details . . . of the bombastic proclamations of . . . the Governor, of the extra-judicial powers claimed for the United States officers in the late rulings of the Chief Justice McKean . . . or the silly attack of the Governor on General De Trobriand . . . their inglorious efforts have little other results than to cause a smile."[19]

The outcome of the affair was printed briefly in the Washington, D. C., *Star*: "The Secretary of War has ordered the stoppage pro rata of the pay of the officers and men of companies B and K, 13th infantry, on account of damage done to private property in Provo City, Utah Territory, on the evening of September 22 last—the total amount to be stopped being $308."[20]

X

PROVO AND POLYGAMY

PASSAGE in 1882 of the Edmunds Law, which defined polygamy as a felony, gave a drastic new character to Mormon-gentile relations. In Provo, as in all communities, polygamists found themselves subjected to humiliating raids by Federal officers. It became necessary for the men to hide out in canyons, in cellars, or in cleverly constructed secret rooms in their homes. A. O. Smoot had such a room in his closet, built under the floor with a trap door entrance (*see* Points of Interest). Hundreds of Mormons, refusing to give up their sincere conviction in divine sanction of polygamy, fled to Mexico and Canada. Church leaders were forced into hiding, and directed church affairs from afar.

Work on farms was delegated to the women and children, who took up where their husbands and fathers had left off. The women were brought into court to testify against their husbands. Upon refusal, they were sentenced to jail, sometimes for contempt of court, sometimes for perjury. The men were placed under heavy bonds ranging up from $1,500. Sentences ranged from six months to five years, plus a $300 fine.

The Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 was a savage implementation of the earlier law. Church property was confiscated, and the Utah Commission, which had been supervising elections, voters' registration, vote counting, and voters' eligibility, was retained. A monogamic oath was

required of all voters, nominees for elective office, and jurors. Court decisions went against the Mormons, and they had no recourse but to hide. In Provo such prominent men as David John and Edward Peay were arrested and tried. They were sentenced to six months in the penitentiary, John paying an additional $300 fine. Imprisonment was considered by the Mormons a distinction, the badge of martyrdom, and upon their release polygamists were often honored by their communities; probably no higher class of prisoners ever served time in an American penitentiary than those incarcerated in the grim old prison at Salt Lake City. It was the ambition of almost every polygamist to carry with him, when freed, his prison uniform; few or none succeeded in this, but many took their numbers.

The struggle, however, was unequal. With the church so crippled and the membership so harassed, President Wilford Woodruff in 1890 issued a "manifesto" disavowing the practice of polygamy as a tenet of church doctrine. Community life regained some stability as this action quieted the political relations of the Mormons, but it was at least two decades before the old bitternesses were dissipated.

Dissension between Mormon and gentile factions carried over into politics. Although the gentiles were relatively few, their influence outside Utah was tremendous. The Mormon People's Party had managed to retain control of the Territory despite the Edmunds Law. The Liberal, or gentile party, organized at Corinne in 1870, carried little weight in Utah except in the mining areas, and in the more populous Mormon centers, and survived only in hope of some stroke of fortune that would reward long endeavor. Thus the Provo Liberals succeeded in tricking the People's Party in 1888 after the General Incorporation Act was passed, classifying cities and eliminating the offices of aldermen and providing for the election of justices of the peace. "Before the polls closed a number of Liberal votes were cast for justices of the peace. When the matter was taken before the Utah Commission that body ruled that Provo was a city of the third class and should have elected a mayor, seven councilmen, and two justices of the peace. The vote for aldermen was therefore null and void, and it would be necessary to eliminate one of the eight councilmen voted for by the People's Party. Two of the four justices of the peace voted for by the Liberals were declared elected."[1]

Although efforts were made to establish national political parties in Utah, particularly the Democratic, no headway was made until after issuance by President Wilford Woodruff of the "manifesto" forbidding polygamy. However, early in 1890 a Democratic Club was organized, and a year later the Republicans officially organized in Utah. The Mormon People's Party in May, 1891, dissolved its organization and advised its membership to affiliate with the national parties. The Liberal Party had just accomplished its first widespread political victories, and was unwilling to relinquish the fruit of its long labor; the Liberals professed to look with suspicion on the action of the People's Party, and their organization was maintained until 1893.

Dissolution of the old political parties and admission of Utah to the Union in 1896 by no means quieted the political scene. Election to Congress in 1898 of B. H. Roberts, a polygamist, stirred up a tempest, and Roberts was refused admission. Of more personal interest for Provo was the subsequent fight staged by its native son, Reed Smoot, for a seat in the United States Senate.

In January, 1903, Smoot, a monogamic apostle in the Mormon Church, was named United States Senator from Utah by the Republican legislature. A protest was organ-

ized by non-Mormons, and this document preceded Smoot to Congress. It declared Smoot, by reason of his church position, disqualified from holding the office, alleging that his responsibilities to the church and to the Federal government were incompatible in view of the asserted Mormon recalcitrance in the matter, especially, of polygamy. Smoot was sworn in as a member of the Senate, but his case was taken under advisement, and hearings continued from January, 1904, to June, 1906.[2] The Senate Committee declared Smoot not entitled to his seat because "the said first Presidency and Twelve Apostles do now control, and for a long time past have controlled, the political affairs of the state of Utah, and have thus brought about in said state a union of church and state, contrary to the constitution of said State of Utah and contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and that said Reed Smoot comes here not as the accredited representative of the state of Utah in the Senate of the United States, but as the choice of the hierarchy which controls the church and has usurped the functions of the state in said state of Utah." A minority report disagreed.[3]

In December, 1906, the case was called up in the Senate, and debate continued until February, 1907. On the question, "Resolved, that Reed Smoot is not entitled to a seat as a senator of the United States from the State of Utah," there were cast 28 yeas and 42 nays, with 20 not voting. Since a two-thirds majority had been held necessary for exclusion, Smooth was granted his seat.[4] From so doubtful an entry, Smoot rose to become one of the great powers of the Senate and its dean, serving until the Democratic landslide of 1932.

After the cessation of conflict with the Federal government, Mormon-gentile relationships became more amicable. The Mormons are still greatly in the majority in Provo.

XI

RAILROADS AND CO-OPERATIVES

DISAPPOINTED when the transcontinental railroad turned toward Ogden and ignored Provo Canyon, Provo was overjoyed when the Utah Southern Railroad announced it would come through the town. The County Court in August, 1871, moved that "the Court guarantee without expense to the Utah Southern Railroad Company the right of way through this county for said road except where it passes through the townsites as entered by the corporate authorities." The road was pushed southward, and, as it entered Utah County, Brigham Young announced that the citizens would have the privilege of taking stock in the company "on as good terms as did the original incorporators . . . which could be paid for in grading, tieing, bridge building, or other labor."[1] By October 30, 1873, the road was within seven miles of Provo, and there it remained for nearly a month until iron, halted somewhere between Omaha and Salt Lake City, was received. The first official train reached Provo on November 25, and the people held a mad celebration. Subsequently the line was built on to southern Utah under the name "The Southern Utah Extension Railroad." Both roads in later years were incorporated into the Los Angeles and Salt Lake route, now part of the Union Pacific system.

The coming of the railroad created new industrial and agricultural opportunity. It resulted in the opening of the Pleasant Valley coal fields; it made a new market for farm

produce and livestock; new plants and smelters were built to handle the rapidly developing mining interests; population increased; and new wealth was created. A narrow-gauge railroad was built to Springville from the coal fields by Milan Packard in 1877. Long on ambition but short on cash, Packard paid his workers in merchandise from his general store, thus gaining for his little road the nickname "Calico Road." Provo, at a meeting of the City Council on November 13, 1877, advanced $1,000 for the purchase of the right of way for the extension of the road. It was not, however, highly successful; winter snows hampered its traffic and delayed coal shipments. The Denver and Rio Grande Western took over the road when it built west into Utah in 1881; the tracks were converted to standard gauge in 1890. A branch line was extended up Provo Canyon in 1897, connecting with the mines at Park City. Provo was served in 1942 by two major railroads and by an electric interurban line, the Salt Lake and Utah, which since 1914 has operated between Salt Lake City and Utah Valley points.

Approach of the transcontinental railroad to Utah contributed in 1868 to the development of co-operatives. In July, 1868, a co-operative store was opened at Lehi, and another in October at American Fork. Since 1864 co-operative enterprises at Brigham City, in northern Utah, had met with signal success, and Brigham Young perhaps saw in the co-operatives a means of integrating Mormon society against the economic impact of the transcontinental railroad. On October 9, 1868, at a council in Salt Lake City, "it was decided to take immediate steps to establish a cooperative mercantile business wholesale and retail, to supply the wants of the people of the Territory. Over $70,000 was subscribed in the council." Although six days later "Zion's Cooperative Association" was organized with Brigham Young as president, the organization displayed

no great energy in Salt Lake City; the established merchants there, in all probability, were reluctant to pool their resources with those of their rivals.[2]

Provo, on the other hand, displayed enthusiasm. On December 4, 1868, at a mass meeting, a preliminary plan for a co-operative organization was formulated. Thirty citizens subscribed $4,850. At a later meeting, December 29, it was decided to spend the winter in raising funds and perfecting plans, and begin operation in the spring. The name Provo Co-operative Institution was selected. A. O. Smoot, elected president, presented a plan for acquiring a building and a working stock at the February 8, 1869, meeting. H. W. Lawrence, of the Kimball and Lawrence store, announced, "The goods I will let you have at cost and carriage, as marked on goods. I will take $10,000 down, the balance in three, six and nine months at 12 per cent per annum from date." The building, costing $10,400, was offered for $10,000 and Lawrence was willing to accept $3,000 in stock in the co-operative as down payment. The balance was to be paid in one year without interest. The merchandise was invoiced at $22,-880.34. His offer was accepted.[3]

Young was highly pleased with the enterprising Provoans. "This is one step in the right direction to bring us to our legitimate position before God. This step is safe and will serve to unite the brethren. . . . This co-operative system I think will win. . . . When this company is once established, I want the brethren to stop trading at Salt Lake, and to trade at their own store in Provo. Goods can be brought down from Salt Lake City and sold cheaper than you can buy it in Salt Lake. It may leave our merchants out, but if it does we cannot help it. We have given them the opportunity for years, but they will not do it, so if they are left out in the cold it is their own fault. . . . We are calculating to build a factory here, and wish to

extend the privileges to the people to take shares in it. If the co-operative institution wishes to join it, we wish them so to do."[4] Young may have had an eye upon the recalcitrant Salt Lake City merchants.

The Provo Co-op, incorporated in January, 1871, was the first institution of its kind in the Territory of Utah. The merchants of Salt Lake City, fearing the establishment of a large wholesale house at Provo, fell in line and shortly afterwards established the Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution.

Following quickly on the heels of the Co-op was the Provo Woolen Mills, first known as the Timpanogos Manufacturing Company. The company was organized on June 1, 1869, with a capital of $1,000,000 in 10,000 shares at $100 each. The difficult task of hauling machinery by teams from the railroad to Provo was begun, and the cornerstone of the building was laid May 28, 1870. The factory followed the same co-operative plan as the store, and workmen were paid, for the most part, in stock. The completed buildings cost $155,000. Brigham Young invested $70,000 in cash in the enterprise. The company was incorporated in 1872 with Brigham Young, president, and A. O. Smoot, vice president. By October, 1872, yarn, spun in the mill, was on the market. The first cloth was manufactured in June, 1873. It became necessary to reorganize the company under new laws in 1873, and on October 15, the Timpanogos Manufacturing Company, renamed the Provo Manufacturing Company, was incorporated with a $500,000 capital in 5,000 shares of $100 each. The officers remained the same.

At first the cloth manufactured at the mill could not compete with the more finished product of Eastern mills; there were also those who felt imported material carried more prestige than anything manufactured at home. The mills continued to grow, however, and became an economic bulwark of Provo. By the end of 1874 the mill was turning out 2,000 yards of material daily. It became necessary to enlarge the plant; a 6 percent assessment netted $15,000, ample for the improvements. Carpeting was added to its stock, the mill supplying the carpet for the St. George Temple and the "Representative's Hall, City Hall Building."[5] By the end of the eighties, the mill had 24 carding machines, 2 pickers, 2 renovators, 70 power looms, and employed 130 men and women.[6] In February, 1889, the mill subscribed 180 shares in the newly created Provo Electric Light and Power Company, and company directors pondered the advisability of changing over to steam power.

The mill rode the boom until the panic of 1893, when it shut down for several months. As the panic receded, the mill again increased its production, adding new products and raw wool marketing. Reed Smoot was made superintendent, and under his direction the mill progressed. Jesse Knight, famous mining man, purchased the mills in 1913, and with a line of mackinaws, flannel shirts, and heavy blankets, angled for the trade of such colder northern states as Minnesota and Wisconsin. A disastrous fire swept the mill in 1918, and the plant never fully recovered. The doors were closed in 1932, after sixty-three years of continuous operation.

The success of the co-operatives spurred Brigham Young to organization of his long-dreamed-of United Order. Under the Order, the whole community would be co-operative, working and sharing alike. At a mass meeting held in April, 1874, Provo voted to live within the United Order. A. O. Smoot was elected president; William Bringhurst and L. E. Harrington, vice presidents; L. John Nuttal, secretary; A. Jones and H. A. Dixon, assistant secretaries; Myron Tanner, treasurer; and David Evans, John Brown, J. S. Tanner, G. W. Wilkins, a Mr.

Price, J. P. R. Johnson, W. A. Follett, and a Mr. Cook, directors.[7] But, as in all the urban centers, the United Order was unsuccessful from the beginning. The Order in Utah got a temporary foothold only in the rural towns of central and southern Utah.

XII

INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL GROWTH

OF GREAT importance to Provo's industrial life was the inauguration of the Provo Foundry and Machine Company by Cluff, Booth and Company in 1885. This was followed by the Utah Valley Iron and Manufacturing Company, which owned its own iron mines 8 miles west of Goshen. This ore was reported to run from "40 to 70 per cent iron—averaging about 60 per cent," with "ore enough in sight . . . to last for fifty years."[1] The company planned to bring its ore to the plant by boat across Utah Lake and soundings were made along the north shore and the Jordan River for the proposed docks. Such plans did not come to fruition, but on February 4, 1888, the company proudly set in place an iron fountain in front of the Courthouse, and began work on a large chandelier for the theater and the more practical business of producing washing machines. In 1889 the foundry turned out the largest steam engine and boiler made in Utah up to that time; and the Sun Foundry, another new enterprise, was producing parlor stoves.[2]

Eastern capital became interested in Utah Valley as a site for a steel mill in 1923, when it realized that all supplies needed for such an enterprise were within a short distance. Water was plentiful, and coal, iron ore, limestone, and other raw materials were handy. Three railroads offered splendid transportation facilities. The Columbia Steel Company, on a site midway between Provo

and Springville, built a blast furnace with a rated daily capacity of 350 tons, which in 1942 was producing 700 tons of pig iron each 24 hours; a complete power plant; two batteries of 56 coke ovens; and a by-products plant manufacturing coal tar, motor benzol, ammonium sulphate, and gas. The coking coal is mined at the company's own property at Columbia, Carbon County, and is shipped by rail to Provo. The iron ore comes from mines near Cedar City.

Early in 1941 a move was made to obtain Government approval for an expansion of the Columbia Steel Plant in the interests of national defense. The Government will retain ownership of the buildings, with the Columbia Steel Company having the first option to buy at the close of the war.

This huge construction program was expected to have far-reaching effects upon Utah, opening the iron deposits of southern Utah, speeding coal production and increasing housing projects. The city of Provo made application to the Federal Government for funds for the improvement of water, power, school, safety, sewage, health, and recreation developments.[3]

Many firms organized during pioneer times still prosper in Provo. Taylor Brothers' Department Store has served the community since 1866. The Tri-State Lumber Company, established by A. O. Smoot and later managed by Reed Smoot, has supplied Utah Valley contractors since 1870. First known as the Provo Lumber Manufacturing and Building Company, it later became the Smoot Lumber Company. It merged with the Bonneville and Gem State Lumber Companies in 1935 and the name was changed to Tri-State.

Newspapers made their appearance in Provo in 1873, when R. G. Sleater, Robert T. McEwan, Oscar F. Lyons, and Joseph T. McEwan printed the *Provo Daily Times*.

They soon found that the town would not support a daily, and, in 1874, the paper was changed to a tri-weekly called the *Utah County Times*. Provo was not ready for even a tri-weekly, and it was discontinued in 1876. The *Advertiser*, issued immediately afterwards as a semi-weekly, lasted only a few months. It was succeeded by the semi-weekly *Utah County Enquirer* on July 4. Some of the partners had become discouraged by this time. Sleater found running the paper alone an impossibility, and called upon John C. Graham, who had had various experiences as an editor and manager of publications. Graham took over on September 5, 1877, and issued the semi-weekly *Territorial Enquirer*. This was followed by the *Provo Daily Enquirer* and still later by the *Provo Post*. Other papers came and went, among them the *Provo Journal*, *Provo American*, *Utah Valley Gazette*, *Provo City Press*, and the *Provo Herald*, which is still publishing in 1942.[4]

Early settlers, harassed by Indians, grasshoppers, and the wilderness, had little use for education, but a school of sorts was started. A schoolhouse was erected in the middle of the Old Fort, and Mary Ann Turner, Provo's first school teacher, moved the pupils from her home to the school. Attendance was regulated by planting seasons and Indians. In 1852 the schoolhouse was moved out of the Old Fort to a new site, and two wings were added. A gentile, William Hurst, taught this school. A larger school was soon needed, and, in 1854, George A. Smith turned his uncompleted home over to the city for this purpose. The people taxed themselves severely—4½ percent—to assure a well-built and -equipped building. The seminary not only served as a school but as a place of business for the city council, and for the district court. The two-story adobe building was used until 1878, when it was sold to the Provo Third Ward for a meeting house. George Washington Bean was the first instructor, fol-

lowed by C. D. Evans, Moses Mecham, C. W. Wandell, David John, and Frank Jones. Wandell, who taught the first graded school, seems to have been an ambitious and industrious teacher. He had approximately 100 pupils in his day classes, but it is not known how many attended his semi-weekly night school.[5]

William Miller, who arrived in Provo in 1860, was struck by the lack of schools, and immediately offered a reward to each of the five districts building a school. By the end of 1861 each of the five districts had a schoolhouse. The following year, Warren N. Dusenberry and his brother, Wilson, arrived in Provo from California. Warren, later a judge, was engaged to teach in the First Ward school. Appalled by the lack of books, he purchased $50 worth of books and equipment. Deploring the harsh methods employed in the schools of his time, he recommended that school be made congenial, and some form of social life introduced. His school was conducted along these lines and thus Dusenberry influenced the social development of the city. Until his coming, Provo had in Utah a certain salty reputation; angered Utahns advised their fellows to "go to Provo or Hell!"[6] Indian fighting and struggle with the elements were not conducive to good manners.

Dusenberry taught in the First Ward one year, then turned his attention to a school of his own, renting Cluff Hall for $50 a month. He made the desks himself; they were later used in Brigham Young Academy. During the summer a primary school was taught by women. He left his school in 1865, going into private business and upon a mission. In 1869, when he returned to Provo, he opened another school in the Kinsey Building in company with his brother, teaching nothing below the third grade. Response was so great, they were forced to expand and fitted up Lewis Hall, where the Farmer and Merchant's Bank

now stands. While teaching in this building they received a visit from Robert L. Campbell, Territorial superintendent, and other educators. Campbell was favorably impressed, and, upon his recommendation, the institution became the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret. The hundred students originally enrolled soon increased to three hundred, and T. B. Lewis was hired as an assistant. The foundation was thus laid for Brigham Young University.

On August 8, 1875, Provo lost one of its foremost boosters of education in the death of William Miller.[7] Brigham Young took steps to further Miller's dream of excellent schools by giving a deed of trust "of the buildings and premises situated at the northeast corner of Seventh and G streets [now Seventh North and First East Streets] to the following . . . trustees: A. O. Smoot, William Bringhurst, Leonard E. Harrington, Wilson H. Dusenberry, Mrs. Martha J. Coray, Myron Tanner, and Harvey H. Cluff" for sustaining of the Brigham Young Academy. "The object was the establishment of an institution of learning of professedly Latter-day Saint tenets. . . . It is expressly provided in the deed of trust that the beneficiaries . . . shall be members in good standing in the Latter Day Saints Church, or shall be children of such members; also that the Old and New Testaments and the standard works of the Church . . . be included. . . . In addition, it is provided that . . . male students . . . be taught some branch of mechanism suitable to their taste and capacity."[8]

The academy opened its doors in 1876, with 97 students, a principal, and two assistant teachers. On December 9 the teachers of Utah County assembled for the first time to receive instructions on new methods of teaching.[9] A fire totally destroyed the school on January 24, 1884. Karl G. Maeser, then head of the school and father of

many of its improvements, wrote, "There being no insurance, it was a total loss, and one which the Academy, depending as it did almost solely upon the tuition fees, could ill afford to sustain. However, only one day of the regular session was lost . . . for . . . suitable quarters . . . were immediately secured."[10] The school was moved to the Z. C. M. I. warehouse and classes continued without interruption until the new academy building was completed in January, 1892. The new building stood on the four-acre Lewis block. A new board of trustees with additional powers was later appointed.

The trustees were given power to "sell all the real estate held by former trustees, executors, heirs and assigns of Brigham Young" for the benefit of the school. The following year the school opened in its new quarters. "The corps of instructors was increased, the regular work of each teacher was made more special, the courses were extended to cover four years, and degrees were offered to regular graduates." Among the courses offered were instruction in men's and women's M. I. A.'s (Mutual Improvement Associations), Sunday School teaching, and music. A Normal School was established in 1891. A Domestic Organization, "presided over by a president and two counsellors" in each of the four Domestic Wards, visited the students in the capacity of block teachers. Rules laid down by the Academy in 1891 included: "Profanity and obscenity in any form are strictly forbidden. The use of tobacco and strong drink is not allowed. . . . We recommend that students attend no parties not under the control of the Academy. Irregularity in habits, keeping late hours, having improper associates and visiting places of questionable repute are strictly forbidden. . . . Students will be visited bi-weekly by representatives of the President. . . . In case of injudicious expenditure of means any student may be called to account by the President."

Club life on the campus was limited to such organizations as the Polysophical Society, Pedagogium, Commercial Law Club, Science Club, and Literary Club. Military drill and discipline was offered by the Military Club, which followed the rules and regulations, as far as possible, of the state militia.[11]

Many notables attended the dedicatory services of the new Academy building on January 4, 1892. Benjamin Cluff, Jr. was appointed principal to fill the place of Karl Maeser, who was leaving to become superintendent of all church schools.[12]

In 1894 the Academy boasted an attendance of 515 students, compared to the University of Utah's 450. Nearly 900 students crowded the classrooms in 1895, and additional quarters had to be found for the kindergarten department. A successful drive was started to obtain books for the theological library. It was necessary for the school to expand again in 1895. A chemical and physical laboratory building was purchased, and the Central Building, near the old post office, was erected. The Academy was changed to a University in 1903.

Further expansion became necessary, and a site was selected on a hill overlooking the lake and Utah Valley. The first building erected on the new campus was the $110,000 Maeser Memorial Building, honoring Dr. Karl G. Maeser, who had died in 1901. Since that time other structures have been added as expansion demanded (*see* Points of Interest).

George H. Brimhall introduced the conferring of Bachelor of Science degrees in 1904, and Bachelor of Arts in 1907, given for three years of college work. Later, four years' study was required for a degree. The first Master of Arts degree was given in 1919. In 1921 Brimhall was made president emeritus and Dr. Franklin S. Harris became president. Under Harris' administration the Alpine

Summer School was organized at Alpine Grove (*see TOUR 3*). In 1923 the school became affiliated with the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, and in subsequent years with the American Council on Education and the Association of American Colleges. B. Y. U., as it is familiarly called, is now listed with the approved colleges of the Association of American Universities.

The University, as organized in 1942, comprises colleges of Applied Science, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Education, Fine Arts, Graduate, Extension Division, and Research Division, and offers Bachelor's and Master's degrees. Instruction is given in thirty-five departments. A religious institution, the University naturally stresses religious education, and teachers from numerous collegiate institutions, and the seminaries of the Latter-day Saint Church are trained here. Among prominent alumni are the late George Sutherland, former associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, the late U. S. Senator Reed Smoot, and former U. S. Senator William H. King.

Rules laid down by Brigham Young are still enforced. The use of tobacco is prohibited, and the "maintenance of standards of honor, Christian integrity, and Latter-day Saint ideals is required. Within these limits the students are given the fullest freedom."[13] The words of an early president of the school still hold good: "We had the educational system of the world to pattern after but we beheld also their fruits in the shape of infidelity, of disregard of parental authority and old age, of corruption, of discontent, and of apprehension of unknown evils yet to come. . . . The key note to the educational system of the Latter Day Work is in the words of President Brigham Young to the newly appointed principal . . . 'I want you to remember . . . that you should not teach even the alphabet or the multiplication table without the Spirit of God'."

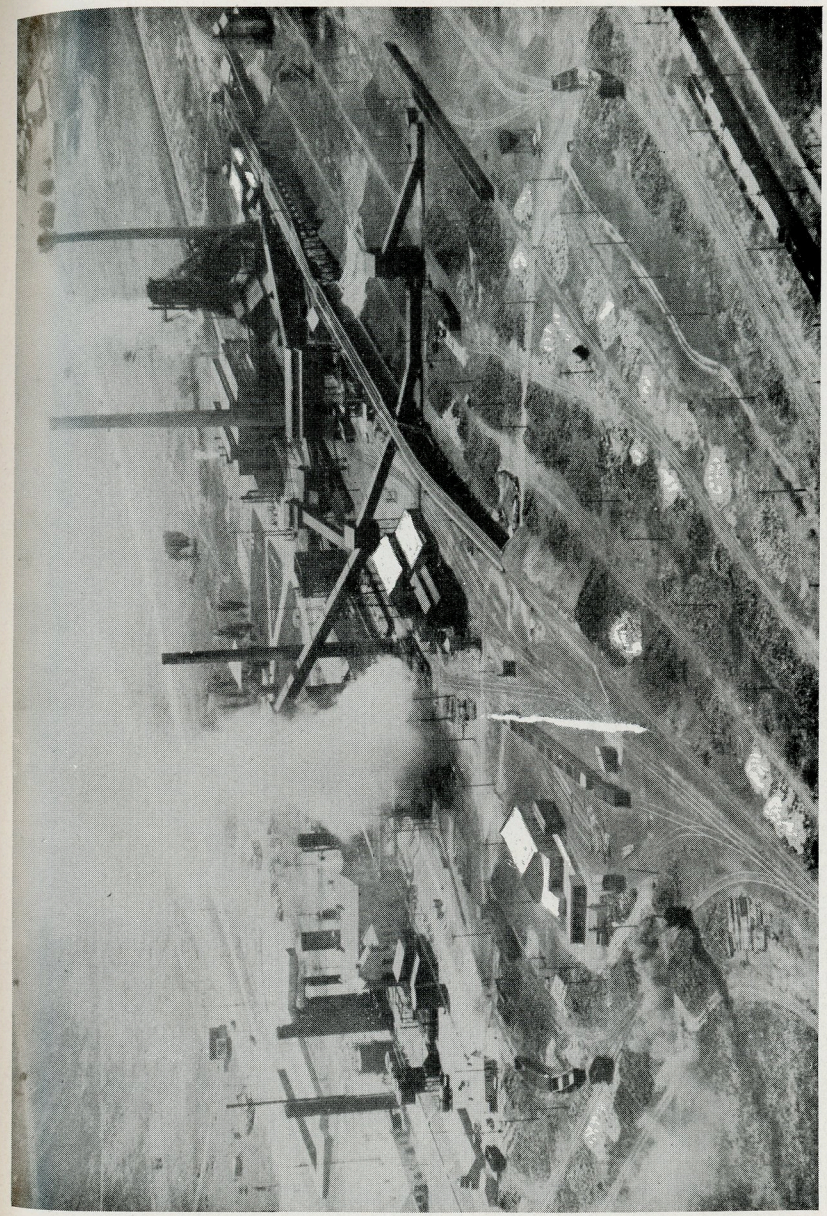
Campus life is similar to that of other colleges with the exception that no national social fraternities or sororities are represented, the only nationals being professional fraternities. Social units, which all campus members are invited to join, take the place of social fraternities. The Social organization was conceived by President Harris in 1928. The aims of the units are to supply social contacts and opportunities in keeping with the school traditions and standards. Believing that fraternal societies in many colleges contained undesirable features, the school formulated a plan of its own to foster social life and ideals, basing its school clubs upon the spirit of democracy. Moderate expenditures, higher scholarship, leadership, co-operation and friendship are points stressed. Emphasis is also placed upon the development of social graces, poise, and tact. Upon entering college, the students are assigned to a unit of from twenty to thirty members; those desiring to form their own unit are encouraged to do so. The units are under the supervision of the Social-Unit Committee. General rules and regulations govern all units; there is a dollar membership fee.

Although the University is active in all intercollegiate sports, the Invitational Track Meet, held annually, is the main event of the sport season. Held the last week in April, the meet attracts more than 3,000 athletes from all parts of the State. Competition is held for junior high school senior high school, junior college, and Mountain States Conference freshman competitors. Competition for junior and senior high school girls is also provided. Events include track and field, archery, gymnastics, dancing, tennis, and posture parades. The high school competition is divided into Class A, for high schools of 300 or more students; and Class B for those of lesser size. No team scores are kept; individual performances are scored by points; and awards are given high point-winners. BYU has pro-

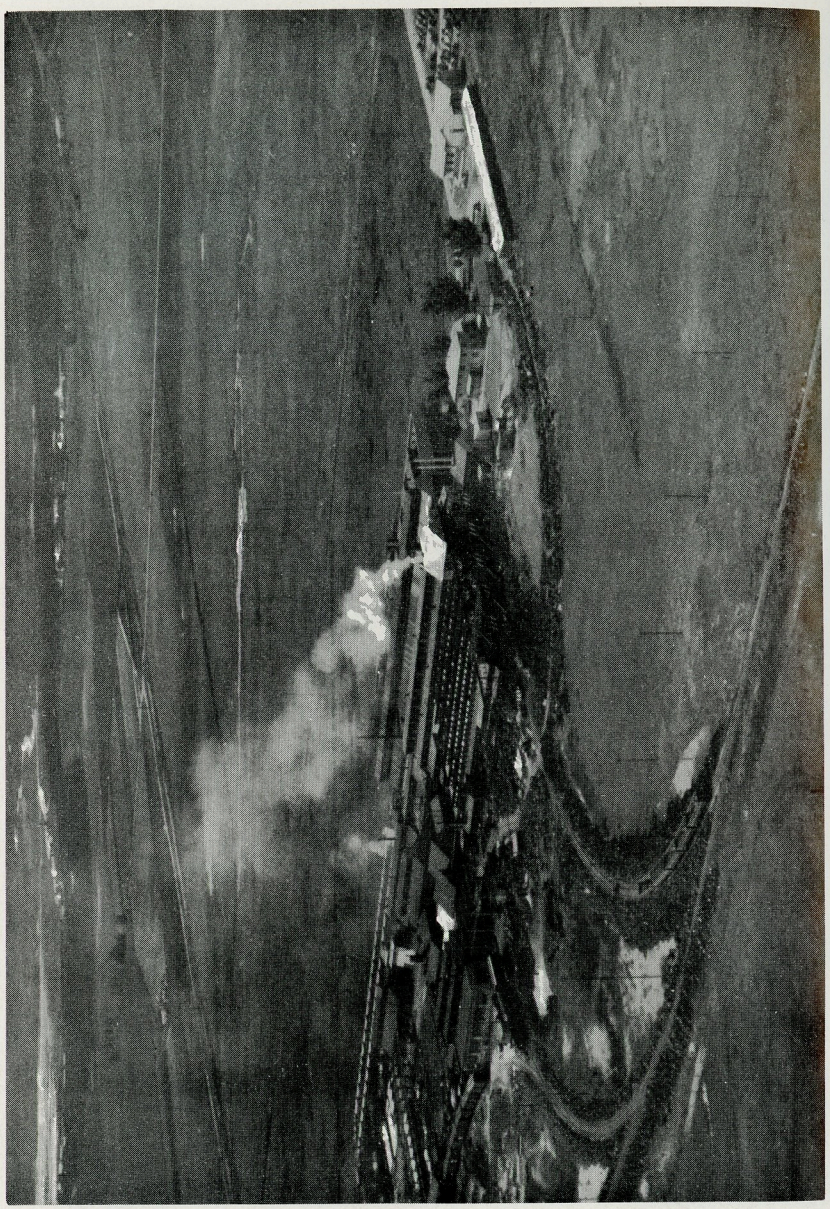
duced two track stars, Alma Richards, who won the 1912 Olympic high jump championship, and Clinton Larson, winner of the high jump at the inter-allied meet in Paris at the close of World War I.

Elementary and high school improvements in Provo moved more slowly than those of the Academy. Some attempt was made to better conditions in 1867, when the school districts were consolidated under five trustees, but this arrangement did not prove satisfactory and the districts were again divided, this time to correspond with the ecclesiastical wards. In 1875 they were again made into one with three trustees, and operated with more success. New and better buildings were erected to house the students, the old adobe school houses being abandoned. Although there had been talk of free public schools for many years, the law did not pass until 1890, two years after George H. Brimhall had introduced the employment of male teachers who made teaching their life work. William S. Rawlings, superintendent in 1893, divided each grade into two parts, high and low, thereby relating teaching of pupils more nearly to mental attainments. It was not until 1910 that a high school was established, under the superintendency of L. E. Eggertson. A two-year high school course was established in 1913. This school was opened in the Central School, but a separate building was erected in 1919. A second high school building was erected in 1937. In 1941 Provo had an enrollment of approximately 4,000 students in the four grade schools, two junior high schools, and two secondary schools.

The development of schools in Provo, and particularly of the University, has had a decided influence upon the cultural background of the city. Through extension courses, lectures, and performances by well-known artists of all types, the University has fostered a richer cultural life. The schools' influence has been felt in the city recrea-



COLUMBIA STEEL CO. PLANT, PROVO, UTAH.



PACIFIC CAST IRON PIPE CO.

tion department, where 4,000 children in 1940 participated in arts, crafts, and puppetry programs. Dancing and music were taught to more than 1,500 children at the three recreational playgrounds, climaxed by a mass dance festival of 500 children. Music instruction included orchestra, band, and piano with attendance of 147 for orchestra, 63 for band, and 600 underprivileged children for piano instruction. Instruments were lent free of charge. Provo since 1923 has had supervised recreation, including such sports as basketball, softball, baseball, swimming, croquet, tennis, and golf.

A small library of 120 volumes, established in 1854, served the public until the 1870's, when a Reading Room Association was formed, which not only circulated books, but provided public lectures. The Mutual Improvement Association established libraries in the various wards in the 1880's, and opened a free reading room in 1885, but was forced to close for lack of revenue. The Book Club, organized in 1903, turned its accumulation of books and magazines over to the city as a nucleus for a public library. A small room was used in the Courthouse, and citizens donated 1,425 books. On January 2, 1906, the Public Library opened its doors, and response was so great that new quarters had to be found. An appeal was made to Andrew Carnegie, and, after a revision in State law, Provo received $17,500 from Carnegie for the erection of a new building, with the stipulation that the city contribute $1,750 annually for maintenance. The building was completed in 1907 on the site of the present structure. The new public library (*see* Points of Interest), remodeled in 1939 at a cost of $50,340, contained 27,827 volumes in 1941. New books are being added daily. Opening of a WPA-staffed Art Center in the basement of the new library in 1939 further attested Provo's vigorous interest in the arts.

Cultural development in Provo has been strongly influenced by the churches. Although churches of other denominations have filtered into the community, the Latter-day Saints are still predominant. Originally, Provo was part of Utah Stake, which comprised the whole county, but subsequently it was subdivided; Provo in 1942 has five wards in Utah Stake and seven in Provo Stake. Auxiliary organizations were formed soon after the settlement of the city; the Relief Society was first, followed by the Sunday School in 1859, Young Men's and Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association in the 1870's, and Boy Scouts and Beehive Girls in 1912. A Latter-day Saint seminary was established in 1921 to supplement the Provo High School courses with religious training.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, organized by a group that seceded from the Mormon Church after the death of Joseph Smith, was established in Provo in 1880 by Joseph Luff. Although the group had a large following in the midwestern States, they had small success in Utah. They met in private homes until 1899, when an edifice of Old English design was erected. Auxiliaries of the church are the Religious Education Department, Women's Department, Zion's League, Quorum of the Priesthood, and the Temple Builders.

Preliminary meetings were held in Provo in 1890 for the organization of the First Baptist Church; the official organization was made the following year. Baptist meetings were held in homes and rented buildings until the completion of a church building in 1893. The building was sold to the Story Lodge No. 4 Free and Accepted Masons in 1919, the church having merged in 1917 with the First Congregational Church of Provo.

The First Congregational Church opened in Provo shortly after the Baptist; members of the church had been meeting in Provo since 1882. Traveling ministers served

the congregation until the arrival of the Rev. Frank S. Forbes in 1891. A brick building, erected in 1887 with funds from the New West Education Commission and donations from a Mr. Proctor, was opened for educational purposes. Here Proctor Academy classes met and church meetings were held until the new edifice was completed in 1891. The church consolidated with the Baptist in 1917. The Methodist Church, organized in 1872, participated in the consolidation.

The Community Congregational Church was organized in 1917, and meetings were held in the First Congregational Church until a new Spanish Mission-style building was erected in 1924. The organization has the following auxiliaries: Ladies Aid, 1917; Missionary Society, 1935; Westminster Ideal Sunday School, 1927; Christian Endeavor, 1917; Meno Trope, Kindergarten, 1924.

The Rev. Bunde Skov organized the Provo Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1930. The congregation had met irregularly since 1889, and at one time had an active branch of the E. L. Augustana Synod of North America. First meetings were held in the Orpheum Theater and in private homes; meetings are now conducted in the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

Other churches active in Provo are the St. Mary's Episcopal, organized in 1902, the Roman Catholic, in 1892, and the Seventh Day Adventist, in 1894.

New recreational interest has been aroused in Utah Lake through the establishment of a boat harbor at the mouth of the Provo River. Back in 1888, the social lights belonged to the Provo Boat Club, near this same site. "A boat house was built in connection with the Provo Lake Resort. . . . Two regular paper shell crew boats, 32 feet long and 3 feet wide, four men, eight oars, were obtained from a New York firm. It was manned by the following heavy weight four-oar crew: William M. Wilson, bow

oar; L. L. Towle, third oar, and Lu. Smith, stroke. This crew won the championship over Salt Lake and Provo both in 1890-91. One race would be held on Salt Lake, then one on Utah Lake, and if another was needed to determine the winner they would fling up a coin to see where it was to be held."[14] Upon receipt of the boat the *Utah Enquirer* reported on April, 1, 1890, that the Provo Boat Club had received the bill for two paper racing boats, each boat built to accommodate four oarsmen. The boats were draped and taken to the Opera House, where the club gave a ball to help defray the expense.

After 1891 crew racing died down, but boating of various kinds always held chief interest at the resort. Prominent Provoans who belonged to the Boating Club included William H. King, George Sutherland, and Reed Smoot. "When Provo went to Salt Lake, they would charter a special train, strap their boats on the side of the coach, and about half of Provo would go up for the occasion. About two weeks before the regatta, the crew would move right down to the resort with a Chinese cook, and a rubber. They had a special uniform which they wore on all occasions, consisting of navy blue trousers, and a white sailor blouse. . . . Once a year they would give a grand ball. A race track was added later."[15]

During drouth years, Utah Lake, owing to heavy demands on it for irrigation water, was reduced to a virtual mudhole, and its use for recreation was impeded. In 1937, however, a boat harbor was projected, and the city has contributed to development of this new recreational facility (*see* Points of Interest).

Geneva Lake Resort was opened during the gay nineties on the shores of Utah Lake. "Its boom days," says Thorit C. Herbertson, "were the first few years . . . when liquor flowed freely, and big barbecues were all the fashion. People would come from all the nearby towns

on hayracks, etc. . . . the place became bankrupt, and did not pay until 1910." At that time it was taken over by a group of Provo businessmen, who added new attractions and ran it "in a much more respectable manner." C. Charles and Effie Rasmussen purchased the resort in 1918, but lost it in 1920. Mr. Herbertson took it over, and did fairly well, but pressure of other business forced him to sell it to Walter Taylor and Frank Eastmond. It was finally sold to the Utah Power and Light Company for a steam-power plant site. The plant was not erected, and the company leased the resort for a few years, finally tearing it down in 1935 to obviate payment of taxes.[16]

Serious development of the community began after 1870. In that year bids were asked for a new county courthouse, payments to be one-third cash, one-third grain, and one-third shares in the Provo Woolen Mills. Workmen rushed to complete the building before the newly appointed judge, P. H. Emerson, arrived in Provo, but the "finest building in the Territory for court purposes" was not finished in time.[17] Emerson was probably the first judge ever welcomed to Provo by a brass band serenade.

Increasing county business severely taxed the small county courthouse. It became necessary to find more commodious quarters, but it was not until 1920 that the cornerstone was laid for a new $576,495 City and County Building. Even this added space proved insufficient, and in 1939 the old post office, which stood on the corner of University and Center streets, was remodeled to serve as an office for the city administration (*see* Points of Interest).

At the quarterly conference of the church in September, 1882, plans were offered for the construction of a tabernacle. H. H. Cluff, J. P. R. Johnson, and J. C. Snyder were appointed to oversee construction. Labor was by church members, who were paid in kind and in cash. The

building seated 3,000, and cost $100,000 when completed (*see* Points of Interest).

Increased prosperity in Provo and the surrounding communities called for a local bank. As early as 1873 meetings were held to discuss establishment of such a bank but nothing concrete was done until 1881, when W. H. Hooper and A. O. Smoot began promotion of the establishment. The First National Bank of Provo, as a result of these meetings, was organized on January 28, 1882. Capitalists of Salt Lake City became shareholders in the bank, but the majority of the stock remained in Utah County. The bank was granted a charter on March 2, and began business April 3, 1882, with a capital stock of $50,000. The institution opened in the recorder's office at the courthouse, but two years later moved into its own quarters opposite the Co-op store.[18] In 1890 the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank opened its doors under the presidency of Reed Smoot, with C. E. Loose as vice president, and J. T. Farrer as cashier. It was capitalized at $100,000, and by 1910 had $1,100,000 in deposits.

Provo was selected by the legislature in 1880 as the site for the Territorial Insane Asylum. Construction was slow and the building was not ready for occupancy until 1885. The institution, now called the State Mental Hospital, receives and cares for patients from all over the State. In 1941 this town within a town had an average population of 1,200 patients and employees. A bakery capable of producing 600 loaves of bread daily and a cannery which preserves 600,000 quarts of fruit and vegetables yearly are among the industries at the institution, most of the labor being done by inmates (*see* Points of Interest).

Intensely interested in the development of Provo was Jesse Knight, mining man and philanthropist. In 1911 Knight started construction of Bonneville Boulevard, south of Provo, with a dual purpose. At the time of construction, "there were many among those who worked for him who were getting too old to meet the requirements [in mines]. There were also many who had large families and these men were put to work on the road to keep them occupied, and at home instead of sending them away to the mines."[19] Along with his road-building, Knight began tunneling into the hillside along the route in the hope of striking ore, proposing to finance his boulevard and open a new field of employment nearer home than the Tintic mines. Knight visioned homes and gardens springing up along his roadway, and he imported 500 English walnut trees to line the road. Only a few of these trees remain today; the project is a weed-grown trail along the mountainside.

By the beginning of the 1890's, Provo had ceased to be a pioneer community. The population had increased to 5,500, promoting the town from a third to a second class city. With the increase in population came the need for such civic improvements as electrical power, sewer systems, water supply, fire department, and telephones. Money was appropriated for the creation of a park (Sowiette Park) at the old adobe yard, and for beautification of the Public Square, now Pioneer Park.

Provo quickly took advantage of the newly invented telegraph. A line was carried from Salt Lake City in 1867 by the Deseret Telegraph Company, an enterprise started by Brigham Young. The line connected the southern settlements with the larger communities, expediting church and official business. The first office was in the Tithing Building, but another was opened in the depot with the coming of the railroad.

The telephone made its appearance in Provo in 1887, an event that was attended by much awed comment. The *Deseret Evening News* of September 13, 1887, reported, "This morning we enjoyed the pleasure of a chat with

Prof. J. E. Talmage of Provo. The conversation was conducted through the telephone, at a distance of nearly 50 miles. At the Provo end a part of the speaking was done in a faint whisper, most of the words thus uttered being distinctly audible, but for a slight disturbance along the wire. Brother Talmage held his watch against the transmitter and the ticking . . . was also heard through the receiver here. The cause of this unusual distinctness . . . was a sound transmitter attached to the Provo instrument." In 1889 the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone Company was granted a twenty-year franchise, which was renewed in 1909. The Independent Telephone Company, which put up lines in 1905, merged with the Bell Company after a short period of service. The Mountain States Telegraph and Telephone Company, a Bell subsidiary, serves the community in 1942.[20]

XIII

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS

THE destruction of Brigham Young Academy by fire in 1884 started a campaign for a fire department. The City Council committee to investigate costs reported favorably, but there the matter rested until 1890, when an engine with other equipment was purchased for $4,000. J. A. Brown was the first captain of the Volunteer Fire Department, and Hyrum Hatton, engineer. The volunteers had their first workout on July 11, 1890, when R. Brereton's barn caught fire. The fire horses were pulling the street sprinkler when the alarm sounded, but firemen switched them to the fire engine, and got to the conflagration in twelve minutes. The barn was destroyed. Twenty-one alarms were answered in 1890-91, an exceedingly dry period. L. S. Glazier was appointed full time chief in 1892. That year a fire hall was erected, which served until it was razed in 1923.[1]

In 1941 the department was equipped with two combination pumpers, a hose and equipment truck, service ladder truck, repair truck, and chief's car. The department answered a total of 180 calls in 1940, an increase of 54 from 1939.[2]

Both political parties favored a waterworks system for Provo in the 1890 campaign. M. J. Sturgis had prepared a plan in 1889, but the City Council rejected it. In March, 1890, the Chamber of Commerce backed a bond issue, but it was not until 1891 that a contract was awarded to

Rhodes Brothers of Denver, who "agreed to have the system completed by January 1, 1892." Bonds, amounting to $121,875 were sold to finance the improvement.[3] In 1941 Provo's water system was valued at approximately $1,000,000.

In 1939, with Work Projects Administration assistance, many improvements were made in the existing system. A pipe line was laid anticipating completion of the Deer Creek Project, and main lines were extended 12,385 feet. Service was to be given to 3,503 water users at a flat rate. Schools, apartments, and industrial and commercial users are served on a meter basis. Water is furnished free to parks, golf courses, cemeteries, the library, two Civilian Conservation Corps camps, and sections of the City and County Building grounds.

Until 1909 Provo was without an adequate sewer system. The earlier system was a haphazard affair serving the courthouse, the Academy, and a few residences. The plan presented to the city in 1909 called for the issuance of bonds, which financed the initial construction, and the system was completed on the East side in 1916. In 1936 more than $40,000 of Federal and city funds was expended on the Provo system, bringing its total cost to $337,951, and number of miles to 46.18.

Improvements in Provo streets began in 1864, when the City Council ordered all wagons and other obstructions removed, later demanding the removal of wood piles from the side streets as well. A quagmire in Center Street was eliminated by grading in 1865, and gravel sidewalks were introduced in 1878. In 1898 the North American Asphalt Company, to introduce their product, "offered to pave any number of blocks at the rate of $10 per ton of asphaltum. As an experiment the Council ordered the west sidewalk of what is now University Avenue . . . paved, the city paying one half and the property owners

the other half. The sidewalks were well laid, some parts remaining in use more than thirty years."[4] Paving suffered, like everything else, after the panic of 1893, though graveling of sidewalks continued for several years, financed by assessments. Concrete sidewalks were introduced in 1901, and by 1940 Provo had 60.2 miles of paved walks.

Street paving began in 1915, when paving districts were created. By 1942 Provo had 80 miles of paved streets, of which 37 miles were paved with natural rock asphalt; more than 24 miles of concrete curbs and gutters edge these streets.[5]

The Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1879, began a campaign to add another railroad and steamship line to Provo's transportation system. They offered a right of way to any railroad company that would "build a line from Park City down Provo Canyon to Provo, Payson, and on to Eureka." The group seriously considered establishing "a line of steamers across Utah Lake to give a more direct route between Provo and other lake cities, and Tintic."[6]

Development of a resort on Utah Lake inspired the construction of a street railway to serve the University and the Provo Lake Resort. A franchise was granted the company in 1890, and it was organized with a capital stock of $100,000. The railroad was never a success, the majority of the people having their own conveyances. It was abandoned in 1892.[7] Today the city of Provo is served by gasoline busses.

Although a franchise was granted for the establishment of gas works in 1890, nothing was done about it until 1914. The Utah Valley Gas and Coke Company began operations in 1915 with its own small manufacturing plant. It supplied Provo until the coming of the Columbia Steel Company, when coke-oven gas from that plant was sub-

stituted. The gas is distributed by the Mountain States Fuel Company.[8]

Several companies had their own small electrical power plants, but the city was not lighted until 1890, when Reed Smoot, representing A. O. Smoot and others, was granted a franchise. The lighting company was affiliated with the Provo Woolen Mills.

In the early 1890's many get-rich-quick power companies were organized throughout the West. These small companies had neither the means nor the power to serve properly their territory. Drouth depleted the streams, and the companies were forced to close down. At that time there were no inter-connecting lines. In 1890, L. L. Nunn, attorney for a gold mine company in Telluride, Colorado, became interested in electrical power for mines. Alternating current was in the experimental stages at this time. Direct current was considered too dangerous to handle because of the high voltage and the tremendous expense involved. It could only be used short distances. Nunn contacted Westinghouse regarding alternating current, and induced him to use the mine as an experimental station to further the experiments with alternating current. Edison's opinion was that AC would never succeed commercially. The 40,000-volt AC line was finally reduced to the power necessary to run the tramways and machinery at the mine, 3,000 feet up the canyon. Hearing of Nunn's success, mining men in Utah contacted him, and urged him to construct a line from the mouth of Provo Canyon to the Mercur district, across Utah Lake. This was the first large plant in the United States to use alternating current. It was known as the Telluride Power Company.

Inter-connecting lines were extended from Grace, Idaho, to Provo, and served the mining districts at Mercur and Tintic. Exclusive franchises were granted, and rates

and service adjusted.[9] By September 22, 1899, the Telluride plant was in full operation. It was taken over in 1912 by the Utah Power and Light Company, which served the community until the expiration of its franchise in 1940.

Aided by a generous Federal Government, Provo laid plans in 1937 to improve its waterworks and schools, to remodel the library, and improve the post office and various other buildings. A survey was started in 1936 to obtain information on electrical energy used in 1935, and data was gathered from several out-of-state municipal power plants. Estimates were called for, and on July 10, 1936, the Ulen Contracting Corporation submitted a bid of $745,300 for a municipal power plant and distributing system. At an election on October 13, 1936, citizens voted approval of the sale of $850,000 power-plant revenue bonds, and the contract with the Ulen corporation for construction.[10]

The Utah Power and Light Company immediately took legal action to restrain the city from making such a move. The light company contended that it had invested thousands of dollars developing its property in and around Provo, and a municipally owned plant would occasion heavy losses. The case was bitterly fought, but Provo City won before the State Supreme Court on December 31, 1937. The fight was not over, however. The power company, aided by private citizens, delayed construction of the plant all through 1938 by a series of injunctions and suits. Provo waded through the various litigations, and in 1939 began construction of the plant which commenced to serve the public in 1940.[11]

One of the oldest controversies in Utah has been the use of Utah Lake as an irrigation reservoir by Salt Lake Valley farmers. Fluctuation of the lake waters and irrigation demands has been an endless irritation to Utah Valley farmers. At one time they threatened to destroy the

dam built by the Salt Lake County farmers on the Jordan River. The matter was finally settled by arbitration in 1884, at the request of John Taylor, President of the Mormon Church, a "compromise level" being established at this time. Trouble broke out again, however, when high water in 1890 caused the water to back up behind the dam, flood the railroad tracks, and endanger 3,000 acres of farmland in Utah Valley. George T. Peay filed suit against Salt Lake City and five irrigation companies for $30,000 damages. He was awarded $8,750. Other farmers followed his lead, and the courts were choked with water-right cases. Salt Lake City retaliated by suing to secure an exact location of the low water mark. It was set at the Lehi monument in 1893. This quieted the farmers for a few years, but the arguments have broken out periodically since that time.

In an effort to settle the highly controversial Utah Lake water problem, Mark Anderson, then mayor of Provo, in 1940 ordered an investigation of drainage activities on the lake by the Salt Lake irrigation companies "to secure data for either court or legislative action." Air photographs were taken to show the reduction in the lake's waters. The irrigation companies were accused of constructing drainage canals without governmental authority, and proof was offered that at least 75 percent of the bay region was being drained. The investigation showed that the excessive drainage was damaging to the city's sanitation, and to any development of recreation areas. Irrigation companies had agreed to put in control gates in 1933, and draw off water only in the summer, but they failed to keep their agreement.[12]

A bill was drafted in January, 1941, placing authority and responsibility for water regulation, and establishing a fair water level on Utah Lake, below which no water

could be pumped.[13] The bill was turned down by both houses of the State Legislature.

Land around Utah Lake, which has been held by occupancy, rather than by title, may hinder the development of an airport. U. S. Representative J. W. Robinson reported on May 9, 1941, that money was available for such airports but "the government cannot use C. A. A. or army funds . . . until title to the land has been transferred to the United States." Factors favoring the Provo site are that the territory is almost entirely free from fog, and that amphibian planes can be landed on Utah Lake, but "nothing can be done unless Provo purchases and donates the land needed."[14] On May 20, landowners asked that Provo City settle with abutting property owners at whatever elevation the land might be and obtain a quit claim deed; that the city include in the proposed bill only such land as would be required for a Provo airport and eliminate other lands surrounding the lake; and that the city recognize the lake level contour line as set forth in the Larson decree of 4,488.58 feet.[15]

It was estimated in 1940 that improvements in Provo represented an investment of $498,404. Major expenditures "came in completion of the municipal electric power plant and distribution system, $187,382.63; cost of construction in installing the new unit at the power plant, $134,350; . . . waterworks system, $61,214; streets and sewers, $59,057."[16]

Two important new developments are the Utah Lake airport and the Utah Lake harbor project. To 1941 $5,561 had been spent on the former, and $19,436 on the latter. Remodeling of the old post office for Provo City offices cost approximately $20,000, and remodeling of the new library building was also completed in 1940 at a cost of $56,000.

Provo, like every other community in the United

States, sagged under the depression. Mines near Provo closed; plants were shut down or run with skeleton crews; farmers found no markets for their produce. In 1938, 12.69 percent of Utah County's population was receiving government aid of some sort, and the number increased each year. Old age assistance was given to 1,058 in the county in 1938. The welfare board's expenses jumped from $113,691 in 1936 to approximately $175,000 in 1939.[17]

Through P.W.A. grants and W.P.A. appropriations, Provo weathered the depression years, at the same time making valuable additions to community life. New schools, bridges, waterworks, sewer system, airports, and numerous other projects furnished employment for the needy. For a 28-month period ending in December, 1937, Provo received $319,000 from W.P.A., and total grants and appropriations up to 1940 amounted to $1,200,000 for the city alone. The government-sponsored Deer Creek project and the Columbia Steel Company's expansion program were expected to do much to eliminate relief expenditures.[18]

Provo's future depends largely upon its development as an industrial center. It has the water, the power, and the transportation facilities. Although it had 50 manufacturing plants and more than 200 business houses in 1939, the increased population, springing from the steel plant expansion, will undoubtedly invigorate nearly every branch of business activity.

Improvements at Timpanogos Cave National Monument, growing interest in the annual Timpanogos hikes, the recreational advantages of Deer Creek Reservoir, and the Provo Boat Harbor emphasize Provo as a scenic and recreational center for central Utah. With W.P.A. assistance, highways and trails have been improved up Provo Canyon, around the Alpine Loop, and to the Cave. This

is considered one of the most representative canyon trips in Utah. Other highways out of Provo lead to pine-clad Wolf Creek Pass, the Park City mining district, American and Spanish Fork Canyons, and Mount Nebo.

One of the most important projects for Provo is the Deer Creek Dam and Reservoir with its sister projects, the Weber-Provo River Canal, the Duchesne tunnel, and the Salt Lake City aqueduct. Brigham Young foresaw the possibilities inherent in the idea shortly after the platting of Provo. The idea was in the back of Provo minds for many years, and in 1922 a small group of civic-minded citizens began an exhaustive study of the project. Word was received in June, 1938, of Federal approval of the entire project, culminating a fight of many years' standing to gain a new water supply for Utah Valley. The *Salt Lake Tribune* on October 31, 1937, listed the materials and specifications as: "1. The Deer Creek Reservoir. This will be formed by constructing an earth-fill dam 155 feet high from streambed, 240 feet high from bedrock, about 1,400 feet across the top, 1,100 feet thick at the river level, and 70 feet thick at the maximum water level. The dam will be built on the Provo River, 12 miles northeast of Provo. The reservoir, when full, will be seven miles long, three-fourths of a mile wide, and cover an area of 2,600 acres. Capacity . . . will be 150,000 acre-feet and its estimated annual yield 100,000 acre-feet." In July, 1941, the 3,000,000-cubic yard dam was 95 percent completed. "It is third largest earth-fill dam to be constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation, being exceeded in volume only by the Green Mountain Dam (4,366,000 cubic yards) . . . in Colorado, and the Vallecito Dam (3,445,000 cubic yards) . . . on the Pine River project in Colorado.[19] 2. Weber-Provo River diversion canal enlargement . . . between the Weber and Provo Rivers from a capacity of 210 second feet to a capacity of

1,000-second feet . . . to divert surplus irrigation and power waters from Weber to the Provo river where such waters can be stored in the Deer Creek reservoir." Under contract between the United States and the Weber River Water Users' Association, the nine-mile canal may be enlarged to 1,000 second-feet by the United States Bureau of Reclamation. Work on this branch of the project is being carried on during non-irrigation season to avoid interference with operation of the canal. "3. The Duchesne tunnel . . . a five and a half mile concrete-lined tunnel," is to divert the Duchesne river surplus waters into the Provo River, thence into the Deer Creek reservoir. The tunnel, which was 15 percent completed in July, 1941, will have a capacity of 350 second-feet. The outlet will be approximately 18 miles east of Kamas.

The total estimated cost of the project is itemized by the Bureau of Reclamation as follows:

Deer Creek Division	
Examination and surveys and preconstruction expenses	$ 185,000
Storage system	3,900,000
Canal system	3,515,000
Total for Deer Creek Division	$7,600,000

Another $5,800,000 will be needed to complete the aqueduct to carry the waters to Salt Lake City and County. The aqueduct will be constructed of 7½-inch reinforced concrete pipe line with an internal dimension of 69 inches. Pipe for the 40.8-mile aqueduct is being manufactured by the Utah Concrete Pipe Company of Pleasant Grove. In July, 1941, the Alpine-Draper division was 95 percent completed, the Olmstead tunnel completed, and 9.1 miles of pipe, 85 percent laid.[20]

Work was started early in 1938 to relocate the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad tracks in Provo Canyon. The new grade, extending 10½ miles around the west side of the reservoir, was 95 percent complete in July, 1941. The highway has been moved to run along the east side of the reservoir, crossing the river on the crest of the dam to the town of Charleston. This project was 97 percent complete in July, 1941. The dam was finished in November, 1941.

Reclamation Commissioner John C. Page and Representative J. W. Robinson asked for $3,250,000 additional funds in 1940 to be added to the $750,000 carried in that year's budget, to be spent between January, 1940, and June, 1941.[21] On March 7, 1940, Robinson asked Congress for $500,000, "bringing the total to $1,250,000 for the project. Good weather conditions had put the work ahead of schedule necessitating the appropriation." By December, officials of the Utah Construction Company of Ogden, and the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation witnessed the "holing in operations on the $2,000,000 Duchesne Tunnel project, 20 miles above Kamas and eight miles below Mirror Lake. . . . The tunnel will be 11 feet in diameter. The first unit . . . amounts to $727,575 and will be three miles long in the lower part of the tunnel . . . must be completed within 900 days from November 10, 1940."[22]

Robinson announced his dissatisfaction over the $1,250,000 allocated by Congress on January 9, 1941; however, Commissioner Page believed the sum ample to meet all immediate needs. "Up to December 1, 1940, $3,650,000 had been spent on this project, affording 1,500,000 man hours of employment."[23] Robinson and Walter K. Granger, newly elected representative, continued their fight in Congress for an increase in funds, asking for an additional million to begin the diking of Utah Lake, and to speed work on the Duchesne tunnel and the aqueduct. The House refused the increase. Robinson then asked the

Senate Appropriation Committee to see that the "seven projects including Deer Creek, be hereafter financed by direct appropriation from the treasury." He particularly stressed the necessity of getting the Utah Lake dike started during the low-water cycle to conserve water which now evaporates and reduces irrigation supplies. John C. Page favored the change in financing. President Franklin D. Roosevelt on May 22, 1941, announced his approval of the principle, "but holds that this is not the time to make the change . . . because the needs of defense are greater." Senator Abe Murdock testified with Robinson before the Senate Committee on May 22, urging an increase in appropriations to complete the project. Their efforts were successful, and the appropriation was increased to $2,500,000 in June, 1941.[24]

Advantages of the project are shown in the Bureau of Reclamation report of May 1, 1940: "The Provo River project, the largest reclamation project in Utah, will directly benefit the residents of Utah and Salt Lake Counties representing more than half the population of the State. . . .The project will not bring new agricultural areas into production but will aid only lands which have in the past been cultivated. . . . Approximately 40,000 acres of the area in Utah County and an additional 5,000 to 10,000 acres in Salt Lake County. . . . Several municipalities, through the organization of metropolitan water districts, have subscribed for stock in the Provo River Water Users' Association, the shares of stock representing acre-feet of storage in the Deer Creek Reservoir."

Although the Columbia Steel plant is at Ironton, six miles from Provo, it has a definite influence upon the city. The expansion program was approved by the Office of Production Management and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in November, 1941.

The expansion of steel manufacturing activities is expected to affect the coal industry in Carbon County, the iron mines near Cedar City, and smaller coal mines near Mount Pleasant. The program is many times greater than the total assessed valuation of Utah County. The construction of the plant will substantially reduce the relief rolls of Utah County, which to date have carried one of the heaviest loads in the State.

Provo has produced many distinguished personages aside from those like Reed Smoot, William H. King, George Sutherland, and Representative J. Will Robinson, who have entered the national political picture. In scientific circles such men as Philo T. Farnsworth, television engineer and inventor; Carl F. Eyring, acoustical engineer; and Harvey Fletcher, who has contributed much to the study of audition. Franklin Stewart Harris, president of Brigham Young University (1931-), though born at Benjamin, Utah, is a graduate of the university widely known in the various fields of agricultural science. Kimball Young, a native of Provo and B.Y.U. graduate, is a sociologist of national distinction, as is also the Michigan-born B.Y.U. graduate, Nels Anderson, who in 1942 published *Deseret Saints*, a study of Mormon frontier society. John Canute Swenson is another graduate of the university who is well known as a sociologist and economist. The late Albert H. Reagan contributed importantly to archeological research in Utah.

Unique in mining circles was Jesse Knight, who had the cleanest mining camps in the West. Knight permitted no saloons, no gambling houses, and no "honkytonks" in his camps, and is remembered for his philanthropy. Knight had a workable system of social security long before the Federal Government became interested in the subject. He contributed generously to many civil institutions of the State, and put most of the money received from his mines into his own community.

Among the artists are Calvin Fletcher, in 1942 head of the art department of the Utah State Agricultural College at Logan, who is rapidly becoming known for his modern painting; and Cornelius P. Salisbury, Orson D. Campbell, and Philip Barkdull. All are graduates of the University, but Fletcher is the only native of Provo. B. F. Larsen, head of the B.Y.U. art department in 1942, is likewise prominent among the State's artists.

Willard Andelin, operatic and concert singer, is a former resident of Provo, as are Dave Rees, and Florence Jepperson Madsen. Franklin Madsen, Emma Ramsey Morris, and Richard Condie are B.Y.U. graduates whose achievements have been in the field of music. Jean Woodman, who before her marriage was Jean Maw, is a native Provoan and B.Y.U. graduate who in 1940 published *Glory Spent,* a novel of Mormonism today. Other B.Y.U. graduates who have written with distinction include Juanita Brooks, who has published interpretative articles on the Mormons and the West, William F. Hanson, writer and composer, Carlton Culmsee, Raymond A. Berry, and F. D. B. Gay.

XIV

POINTS OF INTEREST

1. CITY AND COUNTY BUILDING *(open 9-5 weekdays, 9-1 Sat.),* University Avenue and Center Street, is the joint property of Provo City and Utah County. The cornerstone was laid December 14, 1920, and the $576,495 building was completed in the late fall of 1926. The two-story structure is Neo-Classic in design, and is built of oolitic white limestone quarried near Manti and Ephraim; its appearance is striking, in a setting of blue mountains and green trees. Wide lawns surround the building.

The half-basement upon which the upper two stories rest is of gray Utah granite, which contrasts with the white limestone. The interior is similar in design to the Utah State Capitol in that the second floor is a mezzanine supported upon double columns that reach from the first floor to the skylight. The floors throughout are of Alaskan marble, the balustrades and staircases of pink marble, and the lighting fixtures of cast bronze. Although Utah buildings, as a rule, carry very little sculpture of any kind, the City and County Building has a symbolic group above the entrance designed by a Utah architect, Joseph Nelson, and executed by Joseph Conradi.

The first floor houses the county treasurer, county recorder, county assessor, county auditor, county commissioners, county engineer, and branch offices of the State Tax Commission and State Road Commission. The county clerk, county attorney, district court, juvenile court, law library, Public Health Nurses, a branch office of the State Department of Health, and Boy Scouts have offices on the second floor. In the basement are offices of the county agent, county welfare department, agricultural department, city engineer, city court, and the Work Projects Administration.

2. The CITY BUILDING *(open 9-5 weekdays, 9-1 Sat.)* University Avenue and Center Street, formerly the Post Office, houses most of the Provo City officials. This two-story structure of light buff brick, trimmed with concrete, was erected in 1906 and served as a post office until 1939, when it was purchased by

Utah County and Provo City. The basement is used for city police headquarters and the accounting staff of the Public Utilities Department. The main floor houses the city recorder, treasurer, auditor, court clerk, and utilities. On the second floor are offices of the mayor and city commissioners, recreation department, utility engineers and draftroom, and U. S. Selective Service Board No. 22.

3. PROVO STAKE TABERNACLE *(open for special services)*, University Avenue between Center and 1st South Street, was erected in 1883 at a cost of $100,000. It is built of faded red brick and set in wide lawns covering most of a city block. The building has octagon towers at each of its four corners, a central tower that rises above the lintel to the height of 140 feet, stained glass windows, and the conventional ivy vines of good English tradition, for, as the city fathers themselves admitted, "the design was adopted with the view of preserving among us a reminiscence of a Presbyterian meeting house, that the children of the Saints might see in what kind of edifice many of their fathers worshipped before they heard the Gospel." The building seats 3,000, and is used mainly for quarterly conference meetings, and other Latter-day Saint gatherings.[1]

4. The PROVO CITY LIBRARY *(open 10:30-9:30 weekdays, 2:30-6:30 Sun.)*, Center Street and 1st East, was dedicated in 1939. The modern yellow-brick building contains 27,827 volumes, and carries 90 current magazines, 1,275 pamphlets, and 27 newspapers. The original building was built in 1907 on ground donated by Jesse Knight, and with aid from Andrew Carnegie; it was remodeled in 1939 at a cost of $59,315.[2]

The Utah Art Project in 1939 opened an ART GALLERY *(open 1-9 Mon., Wed., Sat.; 1-7 Tues., Thurs., Fri.; 2:30-6:30 Sun.)* in the basement of the library, where art instruction is given by W.P.A. teachers. The project is sponsored by the city of Provo and the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts. Exhibits are changed every three weeks, and some of the most prominent contemporary artists have been exhibited.

5. JESSE KNIGHT HOUSE, 185 East Center Street, like many old mansions, now serves as the home of a mortuary. The yellow-brick home was erected in 1905 by Provo's leading philanthropist. Knight was at one time owner of the Provo Woolen Mills, and various rich mines in the Tintic District. His mining camp of Knightsville was the only camp in Utah without saloons, and was known as the cleanest mining town in the West.

6. REED SMOOT HOUSE *(private)*, 183 East 1st South

Street, of yellow brick, two stories high, and arched and towered in Victorian style, was the last Provo home of the late United States Senator.

7a. A. O. SMOOT HOUSE, 192 South 1st East, sheltered the first wife, Margaret, of this prominent early Provoan. Now housing the AIRD HOSPITAL, the home has been remodeled, but in its graceful white lines the Southern Colonial influence in its architecture may still be traced. In one of the closets Smoot built a box in the floor, with a trapdoor entrance covered by a rug. This box, which remains in the closet, was used as a hideout when "polyg hunts" were being carried on by United States deputy marshals.

7b. In the second A. O. SMOOT HOUSE *(private)*, 160 South 1st East, a two-story yellow-brick building north of the original home, lived Emily Cory Smoot, second wife.

7c. A. O. SMOOT HOUSE at 65 East Second South, immediately west of the first home, is a two-story adobe dwelling, cream-stuccoed, with a wide second-floor veranda, built in 1867 to house Anna K. Smith, fourth wife and mother of Reed Smoot. It is now used for an office building.

7d. A. O. SMOOT HOUSE *(private)*, 136 West 5th North, which housed Dianna Eldridge Smoot, third wife, is across town from the other three homes, and is a one-story adobe building covered with gray concrete. Separate homes for wives, as maintained by Smoot, were characteristic of polygamists, who preferred to establish individual homes when their financial situation would permit.[3]

8. JOHN STRONG HOUSE *(private)*, 105 East 4th South Street, a small plastered adobe home, built in 1855, seems dwarfed by the larger houses rising around it. The 18-inch walls support hand-hewn log rafters. Four iron hooks, hanging from the ceiling, supported old quilting frames, which were drawn up against the ceiling when not in use. Eleven people once lived in the two rooms and attic. Two rooms were added later.[4]

9. JOHN STEWART HOUSE *(private)*, SW. corner 4th South and 1st East Streets, built of adobe in 1857, is circled by the original picket fence, which partly conceals the excellent garden of old-fashioned flowers. Two huge lilac bushes, 25 inches in circumference, gnarled and twisted by time, dominate the garden. The fireplace retains the original paint.[5]

10. HERSEY DAVIS HOUSE *(private)*, rear 493 South 1st

East Street, a small, two-room cabin, was built in 1866. The logs, 12 inches thick, were hewn flat on the inside to serve as finished walls. Later Davis built the two-story adobe house fronting the log cabin, which consisted of four rooms—two to a floor—separated by walls 15 to 18 inches thick.[6]

11. UTAH STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL *(visiting hours 9-3 weekdays, by permission)*, east end of Center Street, is a city in itself, with an average population of 1,200 people, a bakery, cannery, dairy farm, gardens and orchards, and large buildings. Approximately 160 people are employed to care for the mentally ill.

The first building was completed in 1885 and housed 200 patients. It stood on a gravelly, boulder-strewn terrace. Five large buildings and a score of lesser structures surrounded by lawns, shrubs, and flowers comprise the present institution. Half of the 320 acres owned by the hospital are in cultivation, and produce much of the food consumed. Most of the field work is done by the patients, who also do shop work, sewing, and other work necessary to the maintenance of the institution. An amphitheater, seating 800, is built into a natural cove of the hill; as planned, it will form a nucleus for the development of play areas, including tennis courts, handball courts, and other game areas. In the buildings ramps have been provided instead of stairs so wheelchair patients may easily be removed in case of fire.

The superintendent and his family occupy the residence near the entrance. Resident physicians, internes, and nurses are on the fifth floor of the central building. The hospital wards have diet kitchens, hydrotherapy tubs, isolation room, operating rooms, and laboratory.

In 1940, more than 40 paintings were done for the hospital by the Utah Art Project, W.P.A.

12. SOLDIERS MEMORIAL PARK, 8th East and Center Streets, has seventeen trees planted to commemorate soldiers who died in the first World War. White gravel paths wind around a lily pond and through landscaped lawns of the 6½-acre park.

13. BISHOP'S STOREHOUSE, 55 West 1st North Street, started as the tithing house, stands at the rear of the Church Administration Building. The storehouse is a two-story brick building remodeled to house supplies for the Church Welfare Plan. Merchandise comes from all sections of the country where Latter-day Saints are working—California, Arizona, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, and Utah. Canned goods lead the list of supplies, and on the shelves are baking powder, milk, pork and beans, fruit juices, syrup, molasses, jams, fresh fruits, and even hand and face lotion, all produced by the Welfare Plan. Provo wards contribute canned vegetables and fruit. Surplus clothing, donated by interested people, is repaired and remodeled by the Relief Society. Scraps and rags are used in making quilts, rugs, and blankets; shoes are repaired. All labor is donated, and any needy church member may obtain materials through an order from his bishop.[7]

14. OLD COUNTY COURTHOUSE, 151 North 1st West Street, erected in 1867, was built with funds appropriated by the county and contributions from such citizens as George Albert Smith, Edson Whipple, Isaac Bullock, and A. J. Stewart. Work was started in 1866 and completed the following year at a cost of $5,092.16. The building served as courthouse and jail for five years, was then sold to the Provo Woolen Mills as a warehouse, and later was remodeled as an office building.[8]

15. WILLIAM LEWIS HOUSE *(private)*, SW. corner 2nd West and 1st North, of New England "salt box" influence, was built in 1859. The front wall is brick, but all other walls are of adobe. Originally the house contained four rooms, two on each floor. Other rooms were added later. A large orchard surrounded the house in early days.[9]

16-17. BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY *(open school-days 8-5; 9-12 Sat.)*, the Latter-day Saint educational institution, is divided into two campuses. The Lower or City campus buildings, University Avenue and 5th North Street, are of the Romanesque style of architecture, tree-shaded and ivy-covered. The Upper or Hill campus buildings, 8th North and 2nd East Streets, comparatively modern and classic in design, occupy the benchland and are dominated by the Maeser Memorial Building.

Founded by Brigham Young on October 16, 1875, the school has grown from 29 students in its first year to approximately 2,900 in 1941.

The university, which entered its 66th year in 1941, has changed little in its ideals. It has always aimed at the development of character as well as knowledge. It offers courses in 35 different departments under eight college branches. It has two endowment funds—the Jesse Knight Endowment Fund and the Brigham Young University Permanent Endowment Fund. The former is financed by $100,000 in six-percent bonds; the latter is financed by alumni and other contributions. Several loan funds are available for students.

The student body is governed by a student-elected president and

officers. Eight national professional fraternities and sororities are represented on the campus. There are 15 clubs for those interested in the specialized scholastic subjects. Scholarships and awards are available to deserving students.

LOWER or CITY CAMPUS

Here are the Education, Art, College Hall, and Training School buildings, each on a corner of the square.

EDUCATION BUILDING, erected in 1891, bears the old inscription "Brigham Young Academy." Romanesque in style, it has the heavy arches supported by stocky short columns characteristic of this type of architecture.

COLLEGE HALL, built in 1898, contains an assembly hall, a little theater, and music studios.

The ARTS BUILDING, erected in 1904, houses the Secondary Training School and Department of Domestic Science.

The TRAINING SCHOOL, finished in 1902, is used by normal students who teach in the elementary grades. The men's gymnasium is also in this building.

The WOMEN'S GYMNASIUM, west of the Educational Building, was erected in 1913.

THE UPPER or HILL CAMPUS

The MAESER MEMORIAL BUILDING, named for Dr. Karl G. Maeser, completed at a cost of $110,000 in 1911, contains an auditorium and administrative offices. The building, with a base of gray limestone supporting a superstructure of white oolite, follows the Greek-Doric order. The central pavilion is approached by wide limestone steps. A double row of freestanding columns form the entrance. The building, first to be erected on the hill site, is not large, its distinction lying in its fine proportions. Utah's familiar symbol, the beehive, stands atop the building.

The HEBER J. GRANT LIBRARY, built in 1925, was named for the president (1918-) of the Mormon Church. It contains over 105,000 books, and more than 50,000 pamphlets and bulletins. It has an almost complete set of all agricultural experiment station literature, and has for years been a depository for Government documents. It also has 24 volumes of the rare Ante-Nicene Christian Library, and the eight volumes of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1559), as well as manuscript holdings relative to Mormon-Utah history.

The GEORGE H. BRIMHALL BUILDING, formerly the Mechanical Arts Building, houses the geological and archeological collections of the University. The collections comprise an unusually complete series of minerals, and a variety of fossils. Part of this collection was once the nucleus of the Deseret Museum in Salt Lake City. The archeological collection includes a number of cases of Utah Indian materials, and what is thought to be the finest collection of South American Indian pottery in the West. The entomological collection contains more than 50,000 specimens, including the Tom Spaulding Collection of Utah *Lepidoptera,* Chester Van Burne Collection of South American butterflies, and weevils from the Blatchly Collection. Bird specimens number about 3,000, including 1,000 skins from the Magdalena River Valley of South America. The botanical collection includes a herbarium of liverworts, mosses, and vascular plants. The collection of North American plants, representing 125 families and 740 genera, numbers 2,410 specimens.

The STADIUM, modeled after a Greek amphitheater, is used for football games, and track and field meets. Here the Annual Invitational Relay Carnival, largest athletic event in the Rocky Mountain area, is held in the spring.

The JOSEPH SMITH BUILDING, a $200,000 structure completed in May, 1941, was the scene of the 65th Commencement Exercises. Classes opened here in September, 1941.

18. The UTAH VALLEY HOSPITAL, 5th West and 10th North Streets, built on simple modern lines, started in 1938 and opened to receive patients in 1939, serves the people of Provo and Utah Valley. A plan was proposed in July, 1941, to introduce group hospitalization and medicine; rates and figures are being studied.

19. SOWIETTE PARK, 5th West and 5th North Streets, named for a Ute leader friendly to the Mormons, is the site of the second fort erected at Provo. Trees have replaced the old wall, and tennis courts, a swimming pool, baseball diamond, and camp grounds fill the old clearing. The PIONEER MEMORIAL BUILDING *(open weekdays 9-5),* was dedicated in 1938 by the Sons and Daughters of Utah Pioneers, and contains material collected over a period of twenty years by the Utah County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Among the prized relics is a flag made of Utah silk, raised and woven in Utah County; the flag won a first prize at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. A number of fine spinning wheels, one of which was made with no tools but a jack knife, are included among the

relics. Numerous old guns, some of which were notched by the early day "badmen," Indian artifacts, pioneer implements, antique dishes, furniture, and other relics round out the collection. Two huge paintings of the successive Utah Forts, by Sam Jepperson, depict conditions encountered by the pioneers of 1849-50. Photographs of early buildings, ox yokes, farming implements, and pioneer dresses add to the interest.

A replica of a PIONEER CABIN *(open weekdays 9-5)*, north of the Memorial Building, furnished with authentic pioneer furniture, recalls Provo's beginnings.

20. The SITE OF THE SEMINARY is at the N.W. corner 1st North and 5th West Streets. The Seminary was originally intended as a residence for George A. Smith and his family, but before completion of the building, Smith gave it to the city for a school. The building served as a courthouse in early days, and it was here that Judge Cradlebaugh held his court, surrounded by U. S. troops, in 1859. It was used as a stage station.

21. In PIONEER PARK, 5th West and Center Streets, checker players sit under the shade trees, while children romp in the wading stream or on the playground. Sunday evening band concerts are given during the summer months.

22. A monument marks the SITE OF FORT UTAH, the first settlement in Utah Valley. The bronze plaque in the center of the stone monument tells briefly the history of the old fort.

23. PROVO LAKE HARBOR, west end of Center Street, scheduled for completion in 1942, is the result of years of agitation by prominent Provoans for better boating facilities at the mouth of Provo River in Utah Lake. The $1,000,000 improvements estimated as necessary were too much for Provo to handle alone, and a resolution was sent by the City Commission to the National Park Service asking aid. An agreement was reached, and on May 8, 1939, Mark Anderson, mayor, and the city commissioners passed a resolution to assume responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the project upon its completion. C.C.C. workers were sent to the harbor and began work on October 16, 1939. During 1940 the C.C.C. spent $19,436 on improvements.

The completed project will include the construction of a harbor 2,550 feet long and 200 feet wide, piers, footbridge, and traffic bridge across Provo River. The 200-foot channel will be used exclusively by launches and larger yachts, the river serving smaller pleasure and fishing craft. A bathhouse will be erected, a large

picnic area cleared under the trees, and a caretaker's residence, machine and supply building will be added. The skeet field will be retained at its present location at Center Street and Utah Lake.

The Provo Boat Club is financing erection of a one-story clubhouse, which will stand near the entrance to the harbor. A 70-foot observation tower, topping the building, will serve as a lookout and as a night beacon.

The SHO-BOAT *(excursion trips Sundays 4 p.m.; 50c adults, 25c children)*, 90-foot, two-decked yacht, is used for pleasure trips around Utah Lake, stopping at Rock Island, where 25,000 California gulls nest. The island is covered with calcium rocks, formed by deposition of this element from water. Many warm springs on the 3½-acre island pour out their water, and as it cools the minerals are precipitated to make the porous rock formation. The upper deck of the boat is used for observation, the lower deck for dancing. The boat has been in use since 1930.

XV

TOURS

TOUR 1

Provo-Salt Lake City-Tooele-Eureka-Spanish Fork-Provo; US 91-89-40, State 36, US 6.

Loop tour, Provo to Provo, 180.3 *m.*

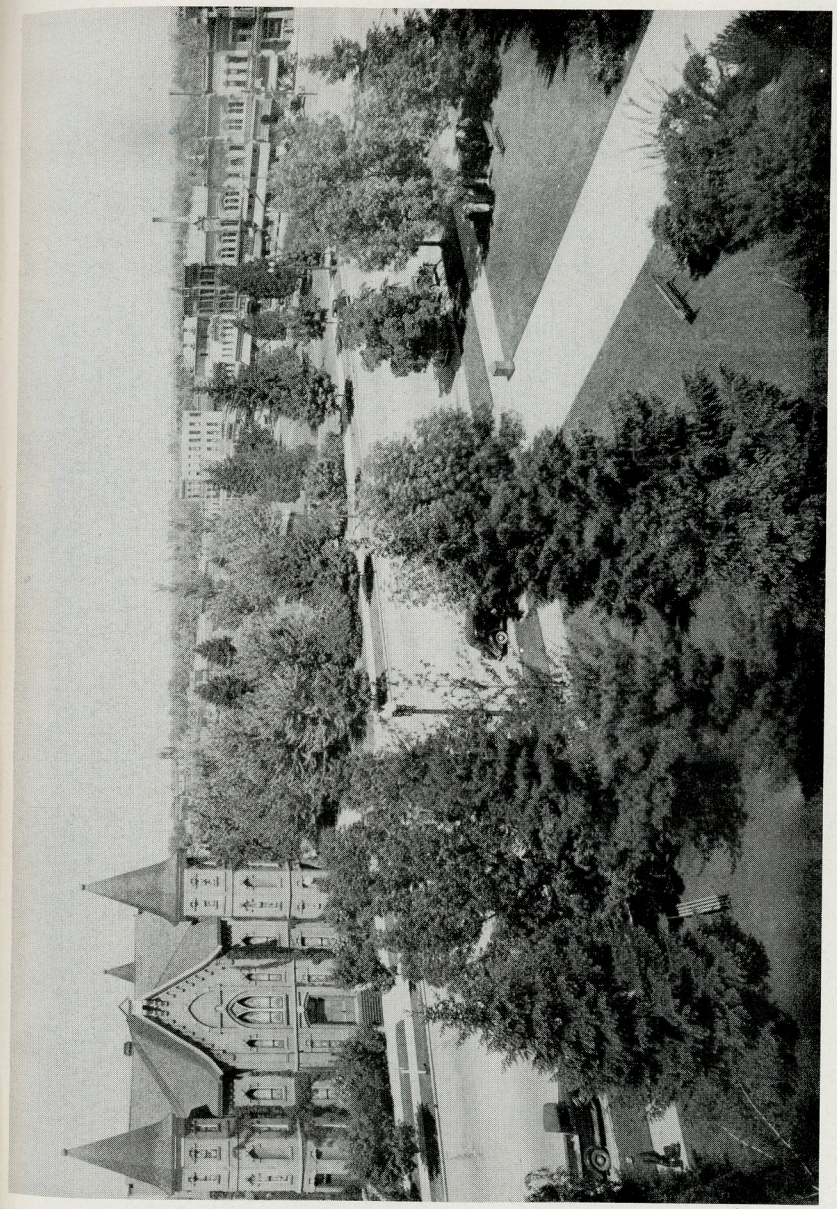
Paved road between Provo and Salt Lake City, Salt Lake City and Tooele, Eureka and Provo. Graveled road between Tooele and Eureka.

North of Provo US 91-89 swings along the base of the Wasatch Mountains, and divides the benchland farms from those of the lowlands near the shores of Utah Lake. Punctuating the green farmlands are smokestacks of smelters and other industrial plants, which grow more numerous as the highway approaches Salt Lake City. West of Salt Lake City, US 40 stretches across barren flats, from which the equally barren tops of the Oquirrh Mountains and the islands of Great Salt Lake rise along the sky. The lake waters etch a steel-gray line along the horizon. South of Mills Junction, State 36 pushes its way through one of the richest mining districts in Utah to emerge at Eureka, focal point of the area. Turning east, US 6 winds through farm villages, briefly skirts a steel plant, and picks up the cultivated fields around Provo, concluding a virtually complete cross-section of Utah life.

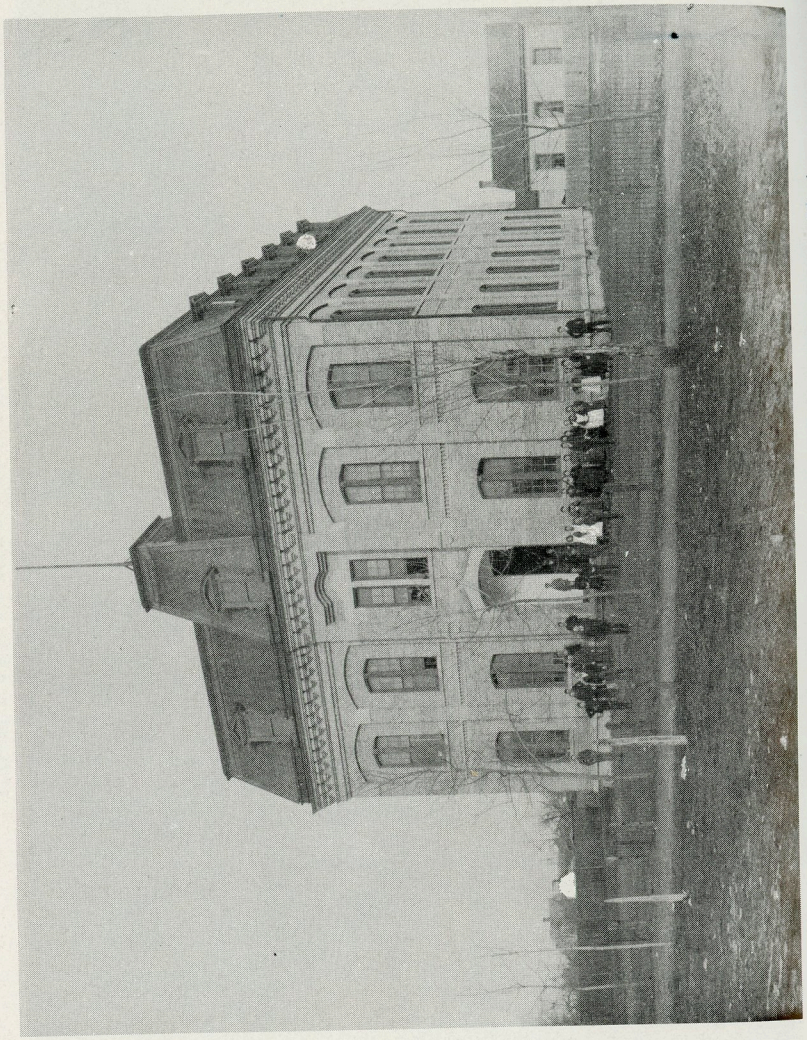
OREM, 5.6 *m.* (4,756 alt., 2,914 pop.), one of the youngest towns in Utah, was incorporated in 1925. John H. Stratton and his family were among the first to settle in Orem, moving there to farm in 1886. The L.D.S. Regional Welfare headquarters is in their old home.[1]

The PLEASANT GROVE CANNING PLANT, operating here, one of the largest in the West, provides a market for garden produce, especially tomatoes.

Right from Orem on State 52, a paved road, to the mouth of Provo Canyon, 3 *m.* (*see Tour* 4).



UTAH LAKE TABERNACLE AND GROUNDS.



OLD PARKER SCHOOL at 1st and 2nd North, Provo, Utah.

LINDON, 8.2 *m.* (4,640 alt., 587 pop.), an outgrowth of Pleasant Grove, is a truck and berry farm center.

At 10.3 *m.* is the junction with the Pleasant Grove road.

Right on this paved road to PLEASANT GROVE, 1.1 *m.* (4,621 alt., 1,941 pop.), named for the cottonwood trees that shade its buildings. Orchards and berry farms crowd the city limits.

The Battle Creek skirmish between Indians and Mormon settlers took place near Pleasant Grove in 1849. The first settlers came next year. By 1851 Pleasant Grove had "96 souls . . . 21 horses, 1 mule, 87 oxen, 46 cows, 27 sheep, 4 swine, 32 young cattle, 25 wagons; 205 acres of land were planted . . . in wheat, 32 with corn, 11 with oats, 2 with barley, 10 with potatoes and 3 with buckwheat."[2]

George A. Smith reported on February 28, 1854, that Pleasant Grove held school "in good school houses . . . newly finished last fall, and . . . the brethren . . . are about walling in that city."[3] The little settlement attracted colonists, and it became necessary to "enlarge our borders, and lengthen our cords, that we may have room to dwell."[4] Life was not easy in those days. The early crops of 1855 having been almost entirely destroyed by grasshoppers, the settlers made a late planting of corn, potatoes, and wheat which, however, suffered from extreme drouth.[5] But destruction of crops did not deter the settlers from completing their adobe work on the meeting house and private dwellings.[6]

Grasshoppers again "harvested several fields on the benchlands at . . . Pleasant Grove [in 1857]. How would the outsiders, who are howling so awfully, like to fence, plow, and sow, and then have uninvited gatherers take all the crop without saying so much as by your leave sir?"[7]

Strawberry Day, held annually the second week in June, is one of the State's best known celebrations. A queen is selected to rule the celebration which leads off with a parade, and ends with an old fashioned strawberry festival and ball.

At 11.2 *m.* is the junction with an oiled road.

Right on this road to TIMPANOGOS NATIONAL MONUMENT (*see Tour* 3).

AMERICAN FORK, 12.8 *m.* (4,566 alt., 3,333 pop.), a busy trading center for the surrounding farms, has a business district of old buildings rubbing shoulders with newer structures. Poultry and eggs are the chief products, and in July the community holds its annual Poultry Day celebration. Sir Richard Burton, who visited American Fork in 1860, wrote: "The little settlement is Great Salt Lake City on a small scale—full of the fair sex. . . . Fair, but alas! not fair to us; it was verily 'Water, water everywhere, and not a drop to drink'."[8]

When American Fork was settled in 1850, homes were constructed of logs having log roofs chinked with chips and covered with several layers of mortar topped with a layer of sod. Oiled paper served as window glass. "Buckskin clothing was the rule for many years, but the spinning wheel and the loom were gradually replacing the skin clothing. . . . Hand made shoes and In-

dian moccasins constituted the foot wear . . . the ownership of a pair of bed springs was a mark of distinction."[9] The settlers gradually improved their settlement. L E. Harrington declared in 1854, when the town was well known as Lake City, "Our city wall is progressing. We had excellent crops of wheat, but oats and corn were severely injured by grasshoppers. . . . We have secured in this fort about 300 tons of hay . . . we are building a Tithing Store House. . . . We have had an excellent school. . . . I am not aware that the gold fever has any footing among us."[10] In 1860 a meeting house was begun, and Samuel Muliner added a tannery and carding machine to his flour and sugar mill.[11] In modern times, aided by its situation athwart US 91, American Fork has developed into a vigorous town.

AMERICAN FORK TRAINING SCHOOL was opened in 1931 for the education of feeble-minded and moronic children. The staff includes two doctors, six teachers, and attendants. The pupils are taught elementary subjects, handicrafts such as weaving, sewing, tinwork, and leather work; household work for the girls; and farming and gardening for the boys. Much of the food used at the institution is produced by the patients. Play activities, including baseball, volley ball, singing and dancing, form part of the daily program. Patients are charged tuition unless the family is indigent.[12]

American Fork is at the junction with State 74.

Right on this road to Timpanogos National Monument (*see Tour* 3).

At **13.7** *m.* is the junction with State 73 (*see Tour* 2).

LEHI, **15.9** *m.* (4,550 alt., 2,733 pop.), is the center of a diversified farming area. Here the first successful intermountain sugar factory was built in 1890, and, in the nearby fields, Isaac Goodwin in 1860 planted the first alfalfa seed in Utah.

Construction of the fort wall was of paramount importance to residents of Lehi. Thomas Taylor reported in 1854 that "the wall of our city (which enclosed one hundred and twenty-eight lots, of five rods by ten) is progressing finely. Three of the four gate posts are already up and some of the wall is twelve feet high . . . a new substantial adobie Tithing Store is being built, and a new school house."[13] A move was made in 1855 to settle and educate the Indians in the fine art of agriculture. George A. Smith "visited the residence of Yan Tan, the Utah chief, which consists of an adobie building, 42 feet long, 16 wide and divided into three apartments, decently plastered . . . which has been built by the people of Lehi . . . for the accommodation of this band of Utes."[14] D. B. Huntington, Indian interpreter, visited Lehi in company with Dr. Garland Hurt, Indian Agent, and found the "Indians at Lehi . . . friendly and disposed to work. . . . Dr. Hurt took much pains to instruct and encourage the natives in doing right and manifested a lively interest in improving their conditions."[15] But Dr. Hurt's consuming passion, establishment of Indian farms, was not long gratified at Lehi.

The coming of the irrigation canal carrying the waters of the Provo River to Lehi was an important event of 1864; the canal brought into cultivation large tracts of arable land.[16] At a meeting held in the city by the officers and stockholders of the Utah Southern Railroad, in 1873, arrangements were made to push the road southward, connecting southern settlements with Salt Lake City and the East. Lehi was thus afforded an opportunity to enter new markets with its farm produce.

The scarcity and high price of sugar forced the settlers to turn their attention to the home manufacturing of the product. John Taylor, Elias Morris, and others shipped in machinery from France in 1852, and a plant was erected in Provo. The factory was never used. The machinery was not suitable for sugar beets. Arthur Stayner of Lehi experimented with sorghum sugar, and produced a brown sugar, but the climate was not right for the cane. It was not until 1890 that Utah's attention again turned to the sugar beet. At that time the United States Government was offering a bounty of two cents a pound for beet sugar. A plant had been erected in Nebraska and one in California, but their success was indifferent. A group of Utah men, encouraged by the Mormon Church, organized the Utah Sugar Company and laid plans for the construction of a sugar beet factory. The city council of Lehi offered a bounty of $1,000, which was increased to $6,000 the next year as a lure to erection of the plant in that city. The newly organized company took advantage of the offer, and began construction of the factory December 26, 1890. The completed factory cost $500,000. George Austin planted the first sugar beets in 1891 before a crowd of watchers. At the end of the year, the factory produced 1,000,000 pounds of refined beet sugar. It operated successfully until 1928, when it was dismantled, and only the warehouse retained for storage.[17]

LEHI MEMORIAL BUILDING on North Center Street, is a civic center dedicated to World War I heroes. Each of ten trees planted on the lawn commemorates a local soldier who died in action.

The JOHN HUTCHINGS ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTION (*open by appointment*), 2nd West and 6th North Streets, displays 5,000 arrowheads and other Indian artifacts taken from the mounds west of Utah Lake.

MARGARET WINES PARK, 7th North and 1st East

Streets, consists of three acres of landscaped lawns and a recreational building.

The SITE OF LEHI FORT WALL, on the northeast corner of the Lehi High School grounds, is marked by a rough-hewn granite shaft with three bronze plaques inscribed with the fort plans, the names of the pioneers, and a brief history of the town.

At 20.5 *m.* is the junction with State 80 (*see Tour* 3).

North of Lehi, US 89-91 winds along the mountainside to the Point of the Mountain. From here (L) can be seen the JORDAN NARROWS, 21.4 *m.*, a narrow defile through which the Jordan River flows toward Great Salt Lake.

SITE OF A PONY EXPRESS STATION (L), 23.6 *m.*, is marked by a ten-foot monument. The station was the home of Orrin Porter Rockwell, noted scout, sheriff, and bodyguard of Joseph Smith. Many legends have sprung up around him, the most persistent being the tale that only a silver bullet could kill him.

The UTAH STATE PRISON FARM (L), 23.9 *m.*, containing 710 acres and housing 609 inmates, is surrounded by a 13-foot electrically-wired fence. An administration building and four cell houses will complete the unit. Produce, grown on the farm, and a dairy herd supply foodstuffs for the prisoners. State road markers and automobile license plates are manufactured at the prison factory. Total cost of the prison will be approximately $1,500,000. It is scheduled for completion in 1944.

The UNITED STATES ROCK WOOL PLANT (R), 30.7 *m.* (*open weekdays*), recovers materials for its insulating product from an abandoned slag dump.

SANDY, 31.1 *m.* (4,450 alt., 1,487 pop.), once a railroad shipping point for mines in the Big Cottonwood district, is now supported by truck farms, and has ore sampling and rock wool plants.

At 32.3 *m.* is the junction with State 48.

Left on this road to BINGHAM CANYON, 15.5 *m.*, and the Utah Copper Mine.

The AMERICAN SMELTING AND REFINING PLANT (L), 35.6 *m.*, almost completely surrounded by huge slag dumps, normally employs 350 men. Each month it reduces some 45,000 tons of lead ore.

MURRAY, 36.1 *m.* (4,350 alt., 5,740 pop.), depends almost entirely upon smelter employees and farm trade for its existence.

At 38.4 *m.* is the northern junction with US 50.

Left on this road to LAKE POINT JUNCTION, 20 *m.*

At 40.2 *m.* is the northern junction with US 40, which unites with US 91 for 3.9 *m.*

SALT LAKE CITY, 43.4 *m.*, (4,266 alt., 149,934 pop.), capital of Utah, is the home of the Mormon Church and focal point for all its activities. Settled in 1847, the city has grown as an intermountain metropolis from a treeless wilderness (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

Between Salt Lake City and Mills Junction, US 40 runs in an almost straight line through alkali flats and drab sagebrush-covered areas, above which the Oquirrh Mountains rise on the south.

SALT LAKE CITY MUNICIPAL AIRPORT, 48.4 *m.*, is a junction for the Western Air Express and the United Air Lines.

KSL's 50,000-watt RADIO TRANSMITTER (R), 54.5 *m.*, grounds its current in Great Salt Lake.

The ROYAL CRYSTAL SALT PLANT (L) (*open workdays on application*) annually produces about 80,000 tons of salt, 99.5 percent pure.

At 57.7 *m.* is a junction with a dirt road.

Right on this road to SALTAIR, 1*m.* (*open Memorial Day to Labor Day, adm. 25c; bathing, dancing, and amusement concessions*), the largest resort on Great Salt Lake, constructed in 1898 on ten-inch pilings. The foundation is almost indestructible, owing to the preserving properties of the salt water. The resort was destroyed by fire in 1925, but the foundation was unharmed and a new resort was erected upon it.

The SALT LAKE SODIUM PRODUCTS PLANT (R) (*open upon application*), 58.5 *m.*, produces sodium sulphate from Glauber salts found near Great Salt Lake. The product is used in processing wood pulp for kraft paper. This is one of the few plants in the United States producing sodium sulphate as its principal product.

The SALT LAKE YACHT CLUB HARBOR (R), 61.2 *m.*, has an 860-foot pier along which motorboats, launches, and sailboats bob in the water.

The GARFIELD SMELTER (L) is visible from this point. Blister copper is produced here from concentrates of the Magna and Arthur Mills. The blister is shipped to Baltimore, Maryland, and Tacoma, Washington, for refining.

At 61.5 *m.* is the junction with a dirt road.

Right on this road to SUNSET BEACH and BLACK ROCK BEACH, 0.5 *m.* (*bathing, dancing, adm.* 10c).
In 1851 and at various later times the Mormons celebrated the 4th of July on this beach. It was then necessary for the pioneers to spend two days at the resort, the distance from town and the slowness of transportation making it impossible to make the two-way trip in one day.

LAKE POINT JUNCTION, 62.4 *m.*, is at the junction of US 40 and 50 which run concurrently to the Nevada line (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

MILLS JUNCTION, 68.1 *m.* (4,330 alt.), named for the woolen mills operated here by Brigham Young, is at the junction with State 36.

At 76.5 *m.*, on State 36, is the junction with State 178.

Left on this road to the ELTON TUNNEL and the INTERNATIONAL SMELTING AND REFINING PLANT.

TOOELE (pronounced Too-will'-uh), 77.1 *m.* (4,923 alt., 5,001 pop.), is a smelting and mining center, the name of which is possibly a corruption of "tule," a kind of bulrush. Three families who settled here in 1849 were quickly followed by others. In its early years Tooele was harassed by Gosiutes, who had been impelled, by the invasion of their barren habitat, to maintain themselves by stock and other thieving.[18] So annoying were their depredations that periodically it became necessary to order out the militia from Great Salt Lake City to chastise them. Although raids and killings are recorded, especially after establishment of the Overland Stage and Pony Express routes through southern Tooele County, Indian depradations in general were better characterized by Lysander Gee in 1859: "We have been visited of late by several small bands of Indians, who have shown no mercy to our melon, squash, and potato patches."[19] The Gosiutes later were settled on reservations in Skull Valley and along the Nevada line in Juab County.

After Connor's men in the sixties initiated mining excitement with their discoveries in the Oquirrhs and in Rush Valley, an influx of gentiles quickly made the county a political battleground. To their great delight, with the connivance of the Federal Territorial officials, the Liberals in 1874 were able to triumph over the Mormon People's Party. Their four-year reign, styled "The Free Republic of Tooele," in consequence of its shattering of Mormon political hegemony in Utah, was broken by stricter registration laws.[20]

Although the town also has an agricultural basis, the mainspring of its well-being is its smelting interests. Expected to contribute largely to future growth is the Elton Tunnel, a 24,100-foot bore designed to drain the deep shafts of the Bingham mines.

Commenced in April, 1937, and costing approximately $1,500,000, the tunnel was completed in 1941. The shaft delivers some 4,300 gallons of water per minute for irrigation use near Tooele, and is utilized to transport workmen to and from the Bingham mines.[21]

At 81.0 *m.* is the junction with State 179.

Right on this road to BAUER, 1.7 *m.*, site of the Combined Metals Reduction Plant erected in 1923, with a 700-ton daily capacity.

STOCKTON, 83.6 *m.* (5,068 alt., 332 pop.), was a prosperous mining camp in the days of General Patrick E. Connor, who founded the town and erected Utah's first large smelter here to handle the rich ore found nearby.

Between Stockton and Vernon, State 36 traverses RUSH VALLEY, one-time grazing grounds for United States Army horses. The Overland Stage and the Pony Express once thundered across this valley.

At 88.6 *m.* is the junction with State 180.

Left on this road to the twin mining camps of OPHIR and MERCUR.

VERNON, 109.7 *m.* (5,511 alt., *210 pop.), is a small ranching and farming town catering to sheep ranchers.

KNIGHT, 129.3 *m.* (6,572 alt.), named for Jesse Knight of Provo, is a shipping stop on the Union Pacific Railroad.

At 132.9 *m.* is the junction with US 6.

Between Eureka and Santaquin, US 6 runs through juniper and sage-covered ranges, with scattered farms breaking the monotony of the foreground and the tall peaks of the Wasatch rising boldly against the sky.

EUREKA, 134.4 *m.* (6,396 alt., 2,292 pop.), once the hunting grounds of Chief Tintic, is now a flourishing mining camp. Centrally situated in the Tintic Mining District, Eureka has all the tang of the old-time camps.

The U. S. Bureau of Mines places the 1940 valuation of Juab and Utah County ores at $4,439,260. Between 1869 and 1940, the Tintic District produced 2,474,382 ounces of gold, 250,713,-384 ounces of silver, 234,838,164 pounds of copper, 1,779,164,079 pounds of lead and 39,151,738 pounds of zinc, with a total valuation of $372,387,082.

ELBERTA, 145.2 *m.* (4,657 alt., *21 pop.), once aspired to fame as a peach-growing city, but the dream never materialized.

Left on this road to MOSIDA, 10.8 *m.*, an agricultural ghost town. Lack of water and mismanagement caused the projected community, started in 1910, to fail eight years later.

Elberta is at the junction with State 73 (*see Tour 2*).

GOSHEN, 148.4 *m.* (4,530 alt., 616 pop.), settled in 1856, is a small farming community once situated on the shores of Utah Lake, but left high and dry by the receding waters.

SANTAQUIN, 155.1 *m.* (4,887 alt., 1,297 pop.), settled in 1851, was named for a Ute Indian leader. Shortly after settlement, B. F. Johnson wrote: "Our numbers though small are comfortably provided with houses and supplies for the winter. Seven houses and ten or twelve men compose the present strength of our little town, which we call Summit City. . . . Our range for stock is most superior, and so situated it can never become scarce. . . . A short distance above our town there are many artificial curiosities—an ancient embankment of stupendous magnitude. . . . In the mouth of the kanyon . . . are a multitude of hieroglyphics engraven on the rocks."[22]

A. W. Babbitt visited the settlement during the Indian uprising in the early 1850's and reported in all seriousness, "On our arrival at Summit Creek we found neither Indian nor white man; the whole settlement vacated, the houses either removed or burned by the Indians; and we think that no one will dispute with us in saying, that it is one of the finest locations for a small settlement in the mountains."[23]

Two years later B. F. Johnson wrote to the church authorities asking permission to resettle Santaquin, and the town was permanently reestablished.

Chesley G. Peterson, native of Santaquin, was made Flight Commander of the American Eagle Squadron in England in 1941. Although only 22 years of age at the time of his promotion, Peterson had bagged many German planes, and was considered a veteran pilot.

Santaquin is at the junction with US 91, arterial highway north and south through Utah and the highroad to southern California (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

Between Santaquin and Provo, US 91 passes along the foot of the Wasatch mountains through irrigated farmlands, orchards, and an active industrial section.

At 160.2 *m.* is a junction with an unnumbered dirt road.

Right on this road to PAYSON CANYON, over what is known locally as the Mt. Nebo Loop road. The road winds around the shoulder of Mt. Nebo for 36.4 *m.* through forests and grazing land.

PAYSON, 161.3 *m.* (4,700 alt., 3,591 pop.), first known as Peeteetneet, was settled in 1850 by James Pace, A. J. Stewart, and John Courtland. In recent years Payson has turned its attention to the development of onion crops and stages an onion festival late each August.

Payson is at the junction with State 115 and State 147.

Left on State 115 to BENJAMIN, a small settlement near the shore of Utah Lake.

Left on State 147 to Spanish Fork, an alternate route.

SALEM, 164.5 *m.* (4,600 alt., 659 pop.), once known as Pond Town, was settled in 1851. The little settlement stands on the shores of a small spring-fed lake *(fishing)* contains bass, perch, catfish, and rainbow trout.

At 168.4 *m.* is the junction US 50-89 with US 91-6.

SPANISH FORK, 168.9 *m.* (4,549 alt., 4,167 pop.), a factory center in Utah County, is on the old Spanish Trail, over which Escalante made his way to Utah Lake in 1776.

Although Stephen Markham was called by Brigham Young to settle in the Spanish Fork area in the fall of 1851, Enoch Reese was really the first settler. Reese was farming 400 acres of wheat and grazing several hundred head of cattle a year before Markham moved into the region. Six months after Markham's arrival a water company was organized to build a canal. In July, 1852, George A. Smith located and surveyed Palmyra, a sister settlement, which consisted of 60 families. Smith reported in December, "I have sought out the city of Palmyra and procured the survey of three hundred and sixty lots containing one hundred rods of ground each, a temple square of thirteen acres, and four school squares of two and a half acres each. Streets, six rods wide."[24] Spanish Fork and Palmyra remained separate settlements until 1856, when Brigham Young advised the abandonment of Palmyra for the more advantageously located Spanish Fork.

During the Walker War of 1853, colonists of Palmyra and Spanish Fork moved to Payson. After the war Peeteetneet moved into Palmyra with his band, and since the Spanish Fork district has been his old hunting ground, a home was built for him on the advice of Brigham Young. He lived here until the opening of the Spanish Fork Indian Farm or Reservation in 1855.

It had long been the desire of Brigham Young to move the tribes onto farms, to teach them the rudiments of farming and care of themselves. Nearly 13,000 acres were set aside and placed under the charge of Joseph E. Beck. In 1855 Young, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, sent Dr. Garland Hurt to superintend the farm, and Beck stayed on to manage the trading post. "It was no easy task for the settlers to feed the Indians and to teach them to work in fact, it proved to be a great hardship."[25]

Spanish Fork had little difficulty after the signing of the peace

treaty with Walker. Silas Hillman wrote in 1855. "The branch is getting along very well. Fort wall progressing. Indians peaceable, with the exception of some stealing."

Grasshoppers caused a near-famine in 1856. Flour was selling at $100 a hundredweight, but John H. Reed rationed his 600 pounds of flour and wheat at $6 a hundred for flour and $2 a bushel for wheat. By careful manipulating he was able to make his store supply the settlement. "Having no crops to gather, the settlers built bridges, made fences, opened a road up the canyon for the purpose of getting out wood poles. The men turned out in mass for weeks on these public works, donating their labor."[26]

When word was received of the approach of Johnston's Army in 1857, Dr. Hurt fled posthaste over the mountains to join the troops. Young had heard of Hurt's intention to leave and wrote him on September 26, 1857, suggesting that he call at Young's office. "I hereby pledge you sufficient escort, and a comfortable carriage for your speedy and safe transportation to the protection of the United States troops."[27] Hurt wandered, instead, for 27 days through the Uinta Basin and across the Uinta Mountains to reach the Sweetwater River in Wyoming, and the protection of the troops.

When Jacob Forney, new Superintendent of Indian Affairs, arrived the next year, he wrote Acting Commissioner Mix at Washington, D. C.: "I am agreeably disappointed with the condition of things on the farm, I was led to believe . . . the grains, cattle, and other property was taken away. Soon after Agent Hurt left . . . Ex-Gov. Young directed Agent Armstrong, to take possession of the farm and property on it—which was done, and a very industrious & clever farmer put on it. Mr. Beck, (farmer) has & is taking good care of everything, and from present appearances there will be more raised on the farm this season than last."[28]

In October, 1861, President Lincoln set aside a reservation for the Indians in the Uinta Basin. At the 1865 meeting of Colonel Irish, superintendent of Indian Affairs in Utah, with the Utes at Spanish Fork, the Utes agreed to give up their land claims elsewhere and move to the Basin; the Indian farm at Spanish Fork was doomed. The land was not thrown open for settlement, however, until 1879.

In 1871 silk culture was attempted in Spanish Fork, but it never won a foothold. Sugar beet raising and refining, lumbering, livestock, and canning are important to Spanish Fork today. Each May the Utah Junior Livestock Show is held, and attracts young stock raisers from all over the state.

SPRINGVILLE, 174.0 *m.* (4,516 alt., 4,796 pop.), center of Utah's contracting business, was settled in the late fall of 1850 by William Miller. The town was first known as Hobble Creek, the stream acquiring the name early in 1849, when Oliver B. Huntington lost a horse hobble here. George A. Smith, enroute south with the Iron County mission in 1850, thought the settlement at Hobble Creek had "a fine location and the people there have made considerable advancement and promise to become a very fine settlement. . . . The soil is very good, the feelings of the community are very good, and many signs of neatness appear in gravel walks, etc. . . . Ninety-one wagons have arrived and some more are expected."[29] By 1853, Smith was able to report that Springville had "upwards of one hundred and thirty families . . . a good grist mill . . . and another saw mill being erected."[30] The good feeling the colony had aroused in the breast of Smith turned sour in 1855, when he was forced to write that "a considerable portion of the damage to the crops which had been attributed to the Indians, had been the result of neglect of white men."[31]

Indians sometimes raided Springville, and it was not until 1866 that the final settlement was made with them. In June of that year, raiders in Maple Canyon drove off cattle and horses. The militia, sent out to round them up, finally cornered them, and recovered some of the stolen cattle and the Indians' camp equipment. Veterans of the Black Hawk Indian War met in Springville on July 4, 1893, and laid plans for organizing. From this organization sprang the state-wide Utah Indian War Veterans Association.

The SPRINGVILLE ART GALLERY *(open 9-5 daily)* grew from an idea of three men, John Hafen, Dr. George L. Smart, and N. K. Neilson. In 1900 they conceived the idea of fostering art in the public schools, and the permanent collection and annual exhibition at the Springville High School was the outcome. The collection, now housed in a gallery built by the Work Projects Administration in 1937, contains more than 140 paintings valued at $150,000. In April of each year is held an annual exhibition of works from artists all over the world.

The PIONEER MOTHER MONUMENT and MEMORIAL FOUNTAIN in the City Park are works of the Springville artist, Cyrus Dallin. The Pioneer Mother is a bust bearing an inscription by the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers.

The Memorial Fountain has a basin surrounding a small figure of a bronze soldier with drawn sword. Around the outside edge is an inscription containing the names of soldiers killed in the first World War.

The UTAH STATE TROUT HATCHERY AND GAME

FARM (R), 175.2 *m.* (*open workdays*), serves as a hatchery for rainbow and Loch Leven trout and as a preserve and breeding place for the ring-necked pheasant.

The FEDERAL FISH HATCHERY (L), 175.3 *m.* (*open workdays*), completed by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries in 1910, has eighty hatching troughs and annually raises more than 4,000,000 game fish for Utah streams.

COLUMBIA STEEL PLANT, 176.6 *m.* (R) (*open by permission*), utilizes the immense iron deposits near Cedar City, and coking coal from Carbon County. The plant, opened in 1924, has 56 coke ovens, one blast furnace, and several by-product plants. Three hundred and fifty tons of pig iron a day were reduced in the blast furnace in 1941.

PROVO, 180.3 *m.*, is at the end of this loop tour covering, in cross-section, almost every phase of Utah life.

TOUR 2

Provo-Lehi-Elberta; US 89-91, State 73.
Provo to Elberta; 61.7 *m.*

Asphalt-paved road between Provo and Lehi; graded dirt road between Lehi and Elberta.

Between Provo and Lehi, US 89-91 sweeps past one of Utah's more prosperous farm areas. State 73, running south of Lehi, crosses a sage- and cedar-dotted valley of more historic than scenic interest.

At 15.4 *m.* is the junction with State 73.

At LEHI, 16.6 *m.*, is the junction with State 68.

At 18.6 *m.* is the junction with a dirt road.

Right on this road to SARATOGA SPRINGS, 3.2 *m.* (*open 9 A.M. to midnight, spring through fall, swimming, dancing, picnicking*), a resort on Utah Lake.

CEDAR FORT, 34.6 *m.* (5,125 alt., *233 pop.), a small dry-farming village, settled in 1852, went through a hectic period during the encampment of Johnston's Army at nearby Camp Floyd; before that time it was used for grazing by the settlers on the other side of Utah Lake. A few farms were scattered around

the valley, but continued harassment by the Indians almost caused its abandonment; in 1854 William and Warren Weeks were found brutally murdered by Indians.[32] Grasshoppers ate their fill during their invasion in 1855.[33] From 1858 until the early 1860's, Cedar Valley was used as a grazing ground by the U. S. Army, and the effects of overgrazing may still be seen.

FAIRFIELD, 39.3 *m.* (4,876 alt., *110 pop.), settled in 1855, enjoyed comparative quiet until the coming of Johnston's Army to adjacent Camp Floyd. The population of the little settlement jumped to nearly 7,000 during the period of the army's encampment, and consisted mainly of camp followers.

Horace Greeley, who came West—though not to stay—in conformance with his advice to young men, visited Camp Floyd in 1859. He found it "formed of small low, but neat adobe houses" —between three and four hundred—"enough to make six or eight Kansas cities." Across the creek was a suburb that had been called Fairfield, but was now better known as Frogtown. Here, wrote Greeley, "grog and other luxuries, including execrable whiskey at about ten dollars per gallon, are dispensed to thisty soldiers, who have not already drank up more than their pay amounts to." The valley was covered with sagebrush and greaseweed, but the immediate vicinity of the camp was free of these growths and beaten level as a floor by the continual tramping of the 3,000 troops, "the largest regular force ever concentrated upon the soil of our country in a time of peace. . . . The total cost of building the post to the government was about two hundred thousand dollars."[34]

All of the bitterness between the Mormons and the gentile army broke loose in this village. The vitriolic *Valley Tan,* published in Great Salt Lake City between 1858 and 1860 for circulation here, minced no words in criticizing the settlers. In 1860, a visitor commented upon conditions at Fairfield:

> Probably in London or New York even in their worst points could not be found a more revolting state of affairs than now exist at the town called Fairfield, and, if names, so far as practicable, are given to designate or imply some property or quality . . . it must be conceded that Fair-field is altogether out of place.
> The past two weeks has been the most prolific in its record of casualty, outrage, and crime—the most notable instances of which I will give. . . . On the 4th inst. in a dispute at a gaming table, Frank Graves drew a pistol and fired two shots at one "Curley," the bar tender, neither of which took effect; upon which "Curley" returned the fire, mortally wounding his assailant . . . on or about the . . . same day, a passage was cut through the adobies into the stable of M. C. Rummey and a valuable horse stolen. . . . A day or two afterwards . . . a clerk in a company of the 7th Infantry, committed suicide by blowing off the top of his head. . . . On Sunday . . . four soldiers were publicly whipped for desertion. . . . At daybreak, one day last week, a wagon arrived from Provo and stopped at a house of ill fame. . . . The wagon

contained a woman, her two children, a girl of about eighteen . . . who had been induced by flattering promises, to come to this place. Upon learning the character of the house designed as their future residence, they refused to leave the wagon, venting their outraged feelings in bitter cries. . . . The wretched perpetrators of the abduction escaped coats of tar and feathers. . . . The women were taken charge of by Esq. Wells, who doubtless will do them justice.

This execrable traffic in women, however (one hundred dollars being the price offered for each female delivered at that infamous establishment) is not the most detestable feature of the peculiar institution of modern civilization, as exemplified at and around Camp Floyd. . . . Such are a few rough jottings from memory of incidents transpiring in this sink of prostitution, drunkenness, gambling, and every species of pollution.[35]

At the outbreak of the Civil War, the army was removed from Camp Floyd, by then renamed Fort Crittenden, and the hated Mormons profited by the sale of army supplies at a ridiculously low figure. George A. Smith, accompanied by David Evans, visited the deserted camp in 1861. "Four hours travel brought them to Camp Floyd. . . . There were about 250 buildings within the bounds of the camp, and in their grave yard about 75 graves. . . . The Arsenal, 55 by 75 feet, is surrounded by a stone wall, 18 by 30 feet of stone, laid up with mud. Only two families and one blind soldier are left. When the soldiers saw that their blind companion was to be left, they took to the hospital some flour and bacon for him, which was stolen from him. John Carson's family fed the blind soldier. George A. Smith dined with this family, when the company met an individual, which seemed like meeting some one from the grave. They met Mrs. Penrod and her girl picking up old iron from shells, for which she got six cents a pound. She picked up 800 pounds in one day, as shells are scattered all over the country. Old Bradford Leonard is in Perry's old store, living alone. . . . In Fairfield there are about 100 houses and eighteen families, and their grave yard contains about 20 graves."[36] The graveyard is all that remains of Camp Floyd.

At **39.7** *m.* is the junction with a dirt road.

Right on this road to MERCUR, a reawakened mining camp.

Between Fairfield and Elberta, State 73 traverses a drab, colorless area suitable only for grazing.

ELBERTA, **61.7** *m.*, is at the junction with US 6 (*see Tour* 1).

TOUR 3

Provo-Wildwood-Aspen Grove-Timpanogos National Monument-American Fork; US 189, State 168, Forest Road 3, State 146 and 74.

Provo to American Fork, 52.2 *m.*

Asphalt road between Provo and Aspen Grove; graveled road between Aspen Grove and junction with State 146; asphalt road between State 146 and American Fork.

Season: Timpanogos Cave open all year, guides; April to November best time to visit cave.

Admissions: Entry to Monument area, free; to cave, including guide, adults 50c, children 25c.

Accommodations: Campgrounds with water, tables, fuel, and store at U. S. Park Service Camp near trail to cave. Hotels at Provo; tourist camps at American Fork.

Transportation: Timpanogos Loop tours (Gray Line bus) daily from Salt Lake City in summer $5; $1 lunch at Monument, cave admission extra.

Climate, Clothing, and Equipment: Cold nights and cool days in summer; snow between November and April, too cold for camping; hiking shoes for climb to cave, jacket for wear in cave; hiking or climbing togs for ascent of Mount Timpanogos and glacier. Camera films available at camp store.

Medical and Dental Service: Doctors and dentists at American Fork, Pleasant Grove, Lehi, and Provo. Hospitals at Lehi, American Fork, and Provo. Direction to first aid stations posted along route.

Warnings and Regulations: Do not damage natural objects within Monument. Do not touch cave formations; acids from human bodies are deleterious to them. Forest Service fire and sanitation regulations must be observed.

Naturalist Service and Information: Custodian's office in Monument, Timpanogos Cave Committee at American Fork, Brigham Young University in Provo, National Park Service, Zion National Park; for adjacent area, Wasatch National Forest Headquarters, Salt Lake City.

Recreational Facilities: Well-equipped picnic and camp grounds, numerous hiking trails, fishing.

Guides: At cave entrance.

Between Provo and Wildwood, US 189 climbs through the mouth of Provo Canyon and ascends between high, forested canyon walls past leaping waterfalls and cool shaded areas (*see Tour* 4).

VIVIAN PARK, **12.5** *m.* (R) (*camping, playgrounds, cafe*), is a summer resort of 200 acres, a favorite campsite for Provo River anglers.

WILDWOOD, **13.6** *m.* (5,250 alt.) (*camping, 25c per day; playgrounds, swimming, fishing; skiing and skating in winter*), is a privately owned resort, part of which is open to the public during summer months.

Wildwood is at the eastern terminus of State 168.

Right from Wildwood, State 168 climbs gradually to ASPEN GROVE, 29.5 *m.* (7,000 alt.) where the Brigham Young University Summer School is held. Here also is an outdoor theater maintained by the school. The art gallery, run in connection with the theater, contains scientific displays of the flora and fauna of the region as well as exhibits of paintings by summer school students.

Aspen Grove is at the beginning of the favorite trail to the summit of Mount Timpanogos. In five miles of trail 5,000 feet in elevation is gained. More than 1,000 hikers use this trail annually during the Timpanogos Hike in July. In 1912 the physical education department of the Brigham Young University started the hike with only a few participants, but today it is a nationally known affair. Participants assemble at Aspen Grove the night before the hike to enjoy campfire singing, plays, and other entertainment.

The Timpanogos trail maintains a level grade for a mile and then zigzags up through mountain meadows, forests of pine, and bowl-like valleys. The trail stretches along terraced ridges, wanders past miniature roaring cataracts, waterfalls with spraying spume, and skirts small mirror-like lakes, to arrive at the foot of the "glacier."

The snow of this miniature "glacier" is packed hard and never melts completely; it creeps slowly downward and at the bottom tiny icebergs of packed snow break off into the cold waters of Emerald Lake. Above the lake, two trails lead to the summit; one over the "glacier" and the other over an easy winding grade to the top.

At the summit the visitor may register in the small sheet-iron and glass shelter, and study the distant misty lakes, canyons, and peaks. Outspread far below are geometrically arranged fields cut by dark ribbons of roads.

Aspen Grove is at the junction with Forest Road 3. The trip continues along this roadway.

At 38.6 *m.* is the Summit, from which point may be had a view of imposing Mount Timpanogos.

CAMP TIMPANOOKE (R), 40.4 *m.*, is at the junction with a trail (L) leading 6 *m.* up the north slope of the mountain. For many years sheep were driven over this trail to feed in summer. In recent years the trail has been improved by the U. S. Forest Service for mountain climbing. The old sheep trail is one of the most scenic of the five or more trails leading to the summit. It meanders past small but violent torrents of water and misty

waterfalls, skirts side canyons, and affords vantage points for unusual views.

At 42.2 *m.* (R) is a view of the summit of Mount Timpanogos where naked rock, covered with a drift of snow in the winter, stands exposed. The peak is 12,008 feet high. The Paiute Indians called the peak, Pa-ak-ar-et Kaib, or "very high mountain". On all sides Mount Timpanogos' height is accentuated because it soars upward so perpendicularly. The Indians called the Provo River "Timpanogos," or "water running over rock." Father Escalante, in 1776, gave the name "Sierra Blanca de los Timpanogos" to the mountain.

At 43.8 *m.* is the junction (R) with side road to AMERICAN FORK CANYON proper. The SOUTH FORK RANGER STATION stands at the junction point.

TIMPANOGOS CAMP (R), 46.7 *m.* (*camping and picnicking grounds; store*), is operated by the National Park Service. The camp is at the junction with the hiking trail to TIMPANOGOS CAVE.

On the north shoulder of Mount Timpanogos, the cave is entered by a trail from the bottom of American Fork Canyon. The trail ascends 1,200 feet by a zigzag route a mile in length.

According to the National Park Service, the cave was discovered in 1915 when the son of a prospector literally fell into the cave. The discovery was kept a secret by the family for five years, during which time several attempts were made to file upon the land surrounding the cave as "mineral land," but before their plans were completed a party of hikers from Payson stumbled on the cave entrance. They reported their find to the Forest Service who immediately took charge. The Forest Service began the development of the cave, and on October 14, 1922, it was made a National Monument. Expressly prohibited was "appropriating, injuring, defacing, removing, or destroying any feature of this national monument." The monument is now under the supervision of the National Park Service.

Geologically Timpanogos Cave is very young, but in terms of years it is many thousands of years old. The cave was originally a fissure vein cutting through limestone. The fissure was no doubt filled with pyrite (iron sulphide), and as the canyon was gradually cut through the mountains, the water came in contact with the pyrite, forming sulphuric acid. The acid began dissolving the limestone rock and the cave came into being. Originally the cave opened upon the canyon floor, but the stream gradually lowered the floor until the cave stood 1,200 feet above the streambed.

Surface water, charged with carbon dioxide, has been trickling into the cave during the last few thousand years. This water plus

the seepage through the roof of the cave has caused the redeposition of limestone in the form of stalactites in the roof, and stalagmites on the floor of the cave.

Near the entrance to the 600-foot cave, the stalactites have become discolored by surface wash and powder smoke, but in the interior they are dazzlingly white, with occasional streaks of green or brown iron stain. The formations in Timpanogos Cave are unusually delicate. It has none of the massive formations found in other caves.

J. Cecil Alter in *Through the Heart of the Scenic West,* wrote of his visit to the cave:

> He [the guide] carried neither smoking torch nor hand flash lamp, for a house-lighting expert has properly placed the spots, clusters, reflectors, indirects, glows, and the full prism of colors to set off the cave features.
> The inner vestibule resembles an immense papillae-covered throat, frosted over and congealed. . . . The features everywhere are set out to fine advantage by the electric lights. . . .Here and there are tiny fairy pools or mirrors of water, and most surfaces are moist, though there is no stream of flowing water. The slow dripping from the myriad stalactitic heads is evidence of the present activity of the beauty-building business. . . . Nearly the entire interior cave surface is thinly thatched with a macaroni-like filigree, or what appears to be a mass of vermicelli plastered to the walls in pink, white, and translucent forms. . . . Frosty feather boas, and neatly braided wreaths trimmed the walls and corners in places as if to suggest that the departing stairs led to a warmer region where such apparel was not needed. Fine coral forms betoken the purity and perfection of the designs. Here and there the veneer of beauty has fallen away, by its own weight perhaps, revealing mother earth's bare breast of rugged rock.[37]

Civic groups contributed their efforts and the cave was developed enough to enable nearly 10,000 visitors to see it during the first year it was open (1922). The lighting system was installed in 1923-25. In 1936 a trail was constructed to Hansen Cave and the tunnel connecting the two caverns was completed in 1938. The following year, the lighting system was extended, and the cave trail taken through three caves, Hansen's, Middle, and Timpanogos. The guide operates the concealed light switches and, in conducting visitors through Hansen cave, frequently leaves the visitors in darkness, to accustom them to the absence of light and better enable them to listen to the softly dripping water.

HANSEN CAVE, now used as the entrance, was discovered in 1887 by Martin Hansen, then owner of the land. No effort was made to preserve the formations, many of which were sold to museums, and others knocked off and taken away by curio collectors.

An 85-foot man-made tunnel gives access to Middle Cave,

narrow and winding and occasionally reaching a height of over 100 feet. In this cavern, the formations are found in their pristine splendor. The colors, including brown and mauve, also range through ivory, yellow, and coral to pure white.

Another artificial tunnel, 190 feet long, emerges into Timpanogos Cave with its astonishing coloring and countless formations. Many formations have been named, but each visitor delights in calling them by whatever name seems appropriate to his imagination. The "Heart of Timpanogos" is a lifelike reproduction of that organ in huge proportions. Skillful lighting causes the heart to appear as though illuminated from within.

At 48.1 *m.* is the western terminus of Forest Road 3, and the junction with State 146, State 80, and State 74.

> Right on State 80 to ALPINE, 1.9 *m.* (4,957 *alt.,* 444 *pop.*), a farming village in the shelter of towering, timberclad mountains. Once known as Mountainville, the little hamlet was settled in 1851 by Mormon colonists.

Between the junction with State 74 and American Fork, the highway swings down the canyon to the benchlands bordering Utah Lake.

American Fork, 52.2 *m.,* is at the junction with US 89-91 *(see Tour 1).*

TOUR 4

Provo-Heber City-Park City-Salt Lake City; US 189-40.
Provo to Salt Lake City, 73.3 *m.*

> Asphalt-paved road throughout.

Between Provo and Heber City, US 189 winds up scenic Provo Canyon, through groves of birch and scrub oak, around the Deer Creek Dam and Reservoir, and into a lush valley surrounding Heber City.

At 5.3 *m.* is the junction with State 52.

> Left on this oiled road to OREM (*see Tour* 1).

The mouth of PROVO CANYON, 5.8 *m.,* is guarded by two high, rocky cliffs on either side, over which towers (L) massive Mount Timpanogos.

Albert Carrington, Mormon aide to Captain Howard Stans-

bury in the latter's exploration and survey of Great Salt Lake Valley in 1849-50, who accompanied Stansbury east in August, 1850, wrote Brigham Young they had concluded that Kamas Prairie was ideal for settlement and that a road should be established through Provo Canyon to Fort Bridger. "It is possible that owing to heavy immigration to our valley, both our own and to the coast for gold, a new route would be an advantage, if only for grass . . . the route named is very practicable, with plenty of grass, water, and fuel . . . and will divide immigration in such a manner that would be better accommodated. . . . I would willingly pilot up any of our trains next season."[38]

This suggestion was not adopted at that time. It was not until early 1859 that a road was made through Provo Canyon. The steep-sided gorge made highway building expensive, and frequent repairs were necessitated after it was completed. Settlers now, however, began locating in Provo Valley east of the canyon. In April, 1859, Thomas Rasband, John Crook, Charles N. Carroll, John and James Carlyle, John Jordan, Jesse Bond, William Giles, and William Carpenter set out for Provo Valley with three teams, plows, grain, and provisions.[39] Others, following, gave substance to Archibald Gardner's thought in 1852, that a chain of settlements might well be established in a great loop, up the Weber River and down the Provo River, between Ogden and Provo.[40] In winter, snow slides completely closed the route, cutting off residents of Provo Valley, and forcing them to make the long roundabout northern trip down Parleys Canyon to Salt Lake City, then to Provo. Even today this happens occasionally.

BRIDAL VEIL FALLS, 9.4 *m.*, cascades in two graceful falls to the riverbed. A winding trail leads to a lookout point at the top of the falls.

VIVIAN PARK, 12.5 *m.*, is a tree-shaded summer resort in a grassy park.

WILDWOOD, 13.6 *m.* (5,250 alt.), is a small summer resort (*see Tour* 3).

DEER CREEK DAM AND RESERVOIR, 16.5 *m.*, completed in 1941, impounds waters of the Provo, Duchesne, and Weber Rivers in a lake seven miles long, with a capacity of 150,000 acre feet. The earth-fill dam rises 155 feet and stretches 1,400 feet across the floor of the canyon. Brigham Young saw the possibilities of such a project in 1856, promising that the Mormons should continue their exertions until Provo River ran to Salt Lake City.

CHARLESTON, 20.3 *m.* (5,433 alt., 323 pop.), will likely get its feet wet when the waters of Deer Creek back up. This small farming village may then find itself a resort.

Charleston is at the junction with State 113.

Left on State 113 to MIDWAY, 3.4 *m.* Settled in 1859, Midway derives a special character from the nearby HOT POTS. A Mormon party of 1852, which made the circuit of the Weber and Provo Rivers, was "attracted by mounds about the size of a coal pit to one that appeared to be about a quarter of a mile across and 60 feet high; they are all about the shape of a coal pit, perfectly hollow. We supposed them to be a volcano, as the surface of the ground for some miles was covered with this light stone the same as the mounds; but finding some of them full of warm water, we concluded that the formation was made by the water."[41] Utah possesses other hot springs, but no other accessible springs of quite the character of these in Provo Valley. The precipitated gray limestone is used by the people of the valley for houses and fences, since it cuts easily yet weathers out hard.

Left from Midway, on an improved dirt road, to the junction with a dirt road that leads to SCHNEITTER'S HOT POTS, 1.7 *m.* (*picnicking, chicken dinners, swimming*), a resort centering about a large limestone crater that may be climbed by means of 50 carved steps; water is piped from the crater to the swimming pools.

At 3.9 *m.* on State 113 is the junction with a dirt road; L. here to the junction, 0.7 *m.*, with a second dirt road; L. here to the junction, 0.9 *m.*, with a third dirt road; R. here to LUKE'S HOT POTS, 1.1 *m.*, a twin resort to Schneitter's Hot Pots.

State 113 returns to US 189 at 6.7 *m.*, in Heber.

At 24.1 *m.* is the southern junction with US 40.

Right on US 40, the highway swings south through the wooded slopes of Daniels Canyon, favorite spot for fishermen. Climbing and winding through the gorge, the highway emerges on an open, sage-covered flat entirely devoid of trees, and continues through rolling hills.

At 22.7 *m.* is the junction with a dirt road. R. on this road to STRAWBERRY RESERVOIR (7,600 alt.) (*trout fishing, boats, camp grounds*), the State's first important reclamation project. Irrigation water is diverted through a 19,000-foot tunnel, completed in 1915, to Utah Valley. A 15-mile loop road encircles the reservoir, returning to US 40 at 29.7 *m.* The reservoir is within the boundaries of the STRAWBERRY VALLEY BIRD REFUGE.

US 40 continues east into the Uinta Basin and on to Colorado (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

HEBER, 25.0 *m.* (5,595 alt., 2,748 pop.), a trading center for farmers of the Provo Valley, was settled in 1859 and named for Heber C. Kimball. Many of the old red and gray stone buildings remain, emphasizing the pioneer flavor of the town.

John Crooks was one of the first settlers. He writes: "In October [1858] another company of men and surveyor came up and surveyed one and a half mile square west and south of Heber City. I was lead chain man. I received 25 acres of land and ten dollars in cash for surveying. . . . On the last of April 1859 the . . . brethren started for the valley with three teams, plows, grain

and provisions. . . . Night came on in the canyon when we reached a snow slide . . . and we made camp. Next morning we pulled wagons to pieces packed upon the slide, hitched on the cattle, moved on again. . . . Next morning moved on and came to Daniels ranch, creek washed deep, found a beaver dam, crossed teams on ice dam. Two miles farther came to Wm. Meeks ranch and camped there for breakfast, and then walked on foot to the proposed site of Heber City. . . . We built wicke-ups of willow and grass large enough to shelter 30 men when necessary and on the fifth of May we were plowing. . . . A company was formed to bring the water from Provo River in a canal onto this bench. So early in the spring of 1859 many parties went to work on the canal. The spring was late and was very cold. . . . Ice formed in chunks in the water. . . . I spent about three weeks on this canal and got discouraged . . . for water was being brought in a channel through a slide of loose rock which extended about one-fourth mile. . . . Quite a few had their minds set on having the valley as a large cattle range and so they argued against raising crops of cereals. . . . We harvested some 50 bushels of wheat in the fall."[42]

By 1875 Heber City had "A large hall, designed for balls, dramatic entertainments, &c. . . . built on the cooperative plan." Every man furnished seats for his own family, always to be occupied by the owners on the occasion of an entertainment.[43] Abram Hatch reported a little later that "The co-operative store . . . is doing a prosperous business. A co-operative tannery has been built."[44] The town is county seat of Wasatch County.

Between Heber and Park City, US 189-40 swings through low foothills pockmarked with prospector's holes and mine dumps, and hurries across the alkaline Richardson Flat.

The UNITED STATES FLAG (L), 31.6 *m.*, painted on a high cliff, is dedicated to the memory of the Wasatch County Spanish-American War veterans. Benjamin Harris first painted the flag in 1899, and kept it in repair until his death. Erosion almost destroyed the flag, but, in 1929, Isabel Baum undertook to keep it painted. The flag measures 15 by 22 feet and is accessible by a 40-foot ladder.

HAILSTONE, 33.0 *m.* (5,959 alt.), a lumber camp, handles 400,000 board feet of mine props, 15,000 railroad ties, and 300,000 feet of lumber annually.

Hailstone is at the northern junction with US 189.

Right on US 189 to FRANCIS, 7.5 *m.* (6,525 alt., 50 pop.), a small farming community.

Francis is at the junction with State 35. R. on State 35 to HANNA, 34.8 *m.*, TABIONA, 43.8 *m.*, and DUCHESNE, 70.2 *m.* through a forested area and over Wolf Creek Pass (9,480 alt.) where there is an exceptional view of the surrounding country.

Left from Francis on US 189 to KAMAS, 9.7 *m.* (6,473 alt., 683 pop.), settled in 1857 by Thomas Rhodes, a ranchman.

Kamas is at the junction with State 150. R. on State 150 to BALD MOUNTAIN PASS, 39.5 *m.* (11,000 alt.), over the highest mountain road in Utah, though the grade is only 8.5 percent.

MIRROR LAKE, (*cabins, meals, supplies*), 41.7 *m.*, is the most accessible of the 75 lakes grouped in this area. The lake is a mile long, a half mile wide and in some places reaches a depth of 100 feet. The water is icy cold, and the fish decidedly gamey (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

KEETLEY, 34.9 *m.* (6,302 alt., *306 pop.), is a small community furnishing shelter to miners working in the nearby Park City Consolidated and other mines.

At 43.2 *m.* is the junction with a paved road to Park City.

PARK CITY, 0.8 *m.* (6,980 alt., 3,739 pop.), one of Utah's most active silver camps, crawls over the foothills and along the canyon bottom to come to rest among slag dumps and mines. Park City serves one of the largest producing districts in Utah. In 1940 the total valuation of all ore produced in this district was $7,314,323, more than double the 1939 figures, according to an estimate of the U. S. Bureau of Mines. Between 1870 and 1940 the Park City region produced 453,638 ounces of gold, 223,396,935 ounces of silver, 61,820,513 pounds of copper, 2,249,758,834 pounds of lead, and 552,699,911 pounds of zinc with a total valuation of $329,081,220.

The imprint left by oldtimers is still visible in the town, and young men with "high falutin'" ideas of making this a model mining camp have found the going hard. Houses sit precariously on the hillsides, all facing the main street. The city is terraced, the first floor entrances facing on the lower streets, while the second floor entrances open on upper streets higher up the mountainside. The town appears dull and drab, but there is nothing dull about the turbulent life that flows up and down the thoroughfares.

Opening of the Flagstaff mine in 1870 started a stampede into the district. Shanties, tent houses, and jerry-built cabins sprang up along the canyon. Men of all types drifted into the camp—men like "Eat 'em up" Kelley, who got his greatest pleasure out of masticating the faces of his opponents in a fight; "Dublin Dan" Martin, as good a fighter as Kelley, but less cannibalistic; and "Big Tom" Portich, just plain "ornery," who showed his gratitude to the nurse dressing his gunshot wounds, by giving her a good healthy kick. "Blood Red Jim" and "Alkali Pete" always staged their fights in the postoffice so the ladies could view the battle. "Jack of Clubs" Moyle, an inveterate gambler, usually bet his all on that card. "Jack the Ripper" Marcy preferred a knife to a gun, while "King of Sweden" Nelson, when in his cups, refused to associate with any of the common herd. One man, who ran a livery stable, later became the circus king, Al G. Barnes.

Together with the usual camp followers, fanatics filtered into camp. A spiritualist, named Whiteacres, claimed to have revelations about ore bodies, but no pay dirt was ever found by his directions. An astrologer also gained converts, but discovered no ore. "Plum-bob" Walker had a brass gadget on a string, which was supposed to vibrate when suspended over an ore body. The astonishing thing about Walker

is that he never found ore, because he prospected over the richest mineral land in the district.
Friction often arose over conflicting claims. Men were smoked out of their tunnels by rival claimowners; brawls and violence endured for a while, but finally succumbed to law and order. During the 1870's the surface of the mountains was dotted with claims, but the ore ran deep, and few small operators could afford to go down after it. The few who did struck water and were flooded out. Mining development was retarded until claimowners combined their resources and sank long drain tunnels. Mergers finally brought most of the property under three large mining heads.

KIMBALLS, 48.7 *m.* (6,366 alt.), named for George Kimball, operator of the old Overland Stage station at this point, is at the junction with State 530 to Wanship.

Between Kimballs and Salt Lake City, US 40 runs over the old "Golden Pass" toll road, opened in 1850 by Parley P. Pratt. On June 29 of that year the new route was advertised as follows: "Travelers between the States and California, are respectfully informed that a new road will be opened on and after the 4th of July . . . avoiding the two great mountains, and most of the canyons so troublesome on the old route. The road is somewhat rough and unfinished; but it is being made better every day. Several thousand dollars are already expended by the proprietor, who only solicits the patronage of the public at the moderate rate of:

50 cents per conveyance drawn by one animal.
75 cents per conveyance drawn by two animals.
10 cents per each additional draught, pack, or saddle animal.
5 cents per head for loose stock.
1 cent per head for sheep."[45]

ECKER SKI HILL (L), 50.5 *m.*, is the site of several annual ski jumping contests, including national amateur championships periodically. An annual invitational meet is held on Feb. 22 of each year. Alf Engen, Utah's great jumping star, has set marks of over 260 feet in official meets, and holds the unofficial hill record at 296 feet.

GORGOZA, 51.1 *m.* (6,328 alt., 5 pop.), a railroad siding, is legendary in the story of Utah's mining.

John W. Young, son of Brigham Young, dreamed of a railroad puffing up the steep canyon floor of Parleys Canyon from Salt Lake City to serve the richest mining district in Park City. Heretofore ore had been brought down from the mountains in slow-moving freight wagons over impossible grades, and often held up by the deep winter snow. Young surveyed the route, and organized the Salt Lake and Eastern Railroad. Materials were purchased and construction begun. The company ran into almost unsurmountable difficulties. Refusing to admit defeat, Young

went East to interest outside capital, but feeling was high against the Mormons, and Young failed to raise the necessary money.

Hearing of a Spaniard, Rodriguez Velasquez de la Gorgozada, then residing in France, who was investing his money in American enterprises, Young grabbed a boat for France. Quickly he saw that it would take more than a word picture to get Gorgozada's money. Frantically Young and his associates laid out a city on paper. Streets were named, buildings were located, and most important, the town was named. In large black letters the name "Gorgoza" appeared conspicuously. Gorgozada succumbed to the lure. It is not known the exact amount of money he subscribed, but it is said to have reached a million dollars. Even this large amount, however, failed to save the "Johnny W. Railroad." The trains could not buck the deeply drifted snows, and the ore tonnage from the mines did not reach the expected figures. The company became bankrupt in 1890, and was purchased by the Rio Grande Western Railroad.

Gorgozada, as far as is known, received no return on his investment, but his name still marks the site of the imaginary city. John Young went through a period of near-ostracism, but his faith in the railroad was later justified.[46]

Gorgoza is at the junction with State 66 (R) to East Canyon.

MOUNTAIN DELL RESERVOIR (R), 59.7 *m.*, has a storage capacity of one and one-half billion gallons of water, impounded behind a dam 100 feet high and 560 feet wide. The dam, completed in 1924, is closely guarded because of its importance to the Salt Lake City water supply.

US 40 makes a rapid descent through PARLEYS CANYON, a rugged, vari-colored gorge with high, sheer, rocky sides.

At the MOUTH OF PARLEYS CANYON, 65.1 *m.*, there is a widespread view of Salt Lake City and Salt Lake Valley, with the Oquirrh Mountains and the islands of Great Salt Lake looming to the west.

At 70.1 *m.* is the south junction with US 91 which unites with US 40 for 3.9 m.

SALT LAKE CITY, 73.3 *m.* (4,266 alt., 149,934 pop.) (*see Tour* 1).

TOUR 5

Provo-Spanish Fork-Price; US 91-89-50-6.
Provo to Price, 80.8 *m.*

Asphalt paved road throughout.

Between Provo and Price on US 91 and US 50, green farmlands give way to canyons Spanish priests once trod; the highway winds and twists past coal mines to the summit, and descends into the Colorado River drainage basin. Level bottomlands, green with irrigated fields, parallel the Price River.

SPRINGVILLE, 6.3 *m.* (4,516 alt., 4,796 pop.), is known as Utah's art center (*see Tour* 1).

SPANISH FORK, 11.4 *m.* (4,549 alt., 4,167 pop.), is at the junction with US 50 and US 6 (*see Tour* 1).

Left from Spanish Fork, US 50 twists through Spanish Fork Canyon, once part of the Old Spanish Trail, and winds over the route taken by Father Escalante when he entered Utah Valley in 1776. The dugway crawls around the shoulders of the canyon, with the stream a thread on the canyon floor below. Grass and sagebrush are replaced by scrub oak and juniper, which in turn gives way to quaking aspen and pines as the summit is reached. In the autumn the frost turns the canyon walls riotous with color.

THISTLE, 24.3 *m.* (5,033 alt., *228 pop.), settled in 1898 as a railway junction, was named for the profusion of thistles growing in the narrow valley.

Thistle is at the junction with US 89.

TUCKER, 42.4 *m.*, is a railroad loading point, for small coal mines.

Tucker is at the junction with State 31.

Right on this road (*closed in winter*) over the Skyline Drive. After climbing switchbacks for about five miles the road continues along the top of rolling, rounded hills. For miles the highway wanders through dense stands of aspen, pine, and some deciduous trees at an altitude ranging between 9,000 and 11,000 feet. The peculiar topography of the country, with no abrupt canyons and all slopes rounding off and breaking one into the other, permits utilization of almost every acre of the terrain for grazing. Grass and forage is plentiful. The area is part of the Manti National Forest.

SOLDIER SUMMIT, 49.1 *m.* (7,440 alt., 97 pop.), is supposed to have derived its name from soldiers of General Albert Sidney Johnston's army, said to have been buried nearby in 1860, enroute to eastern stations after evacuation of Camp Floyd.

The OZOKERITE MINES (R), 49.8 *m.*, produce a rare mineral wax of great purity found only here and in Galicia, Austria. World conditions closed the mines in 1920, and they did not reopen until 1940. Shortly after resuming production, the mine suffered a severe loss when fire broke out in the mine. The ozokerite wax is used as an insulator, in waterproofing, polishes, fabrics, paper, phonograph records, and as a plastic.

At 55.7 *m.* is the junction with State 96.

Right on this gravel road to SCOFIELD RESERVOIR (L), 10.4 *m.*; and SCOFIELD, 17.4 *m.* (7,702 alt., 259 pop.), once a booming coal camp, and the scene of Utah's most tragic mine disaster. On May 1, 1900, three hundred and ten men working in the mine were trapped by an explosion. Only 104 escaped alive. The mines had been working day and night to handle the Pleasant Valley Coal Company's order for 2,000 tons of coal a day. The dust lay ankle deep in the tunnels, and, although the cause of the explosion was never officially established, it is reasonably certain that coal dust was responsible. The bodies were placed in company buildings, boarding houses, churches, and the schoolhouse; 105 widows viewed the remains, and 270 children were left fatherless. Coffins came by carloads. Caskets overflowed into yards and porches, where some families lost sons as well as fathers.

COLTON, 45.1 *m.* (7,188 alt., *10 pop.), is a railroad junction serving Scofield, and was once known as Pleasant Valley Junction. The town rests above large beds of oil shale extending into the Uinta Basin.

The road climbs through the PRICE RIVER CANYON, 67.3 *m.* (*caution; watch for rock slides and heavily loaded trucks*), a dun-colored gorge whose walls are composed of a loose shale. This point is said to be one of the most expensive stretches of highway in Utah because of the maintenance necessary to keep it clear of rocks. The Price River meanders down the canyon as the highway descends.

ROYAL, 68.2 *m.* (6,344 alt., *200 pop.), appears to be walled in by the junction of the Bear and Price River Canyons. Castle Rock rises in the town's back yard like a turreted medieval castle.

CASTLEGATE, 70.1 *m.* (6,147 alt., 851 pop.), is appropriately named for the narrow, castellated portal framing the town. As one of the leading coal camps, the town has a high rate of per capita wealth.

Rich payrolls caused the mine owners apprehension during the roaring nineties, when Butch Cassidy, Matt Warner, and others of the Robbers' Roost gang made stick-ups a lucrative business. One day Cassidy rode in alone and unrecognized. Posing as a cowpuncher looking for work, he hung around the depot. On the morning of April 21, 1897, he left his cowpony standing and

strolled toward the train. A paymaster and two helpers alighted and staggered into the express office with the heavy money bags. Elza Lay and Cassidy drew their guns and followed. When the paymaster remonstrated, he was felled by a blow from the barrel of Lay's sixshooter. Other outlaws fell in behind their leaders as the gang rode out of town, successfully evading the posses that followed.

Cassidy and his gang have become legendary. It is said that Cassidy never killed a man in thirty years of outlawry. He is believed to have been killed in South America.[47]

In 1917 a severe flood smashed through the narrow canyon, and although only one life was lost, property damage was high.

Castlegate in 1924 suffered a mine disaster almost equal to that at Scofield. The lives of 173 were snuffed out in an explosion. Accumulated gas and dust ignited with such terrific force that heavy timbers in the main transportation entrance were hurled a mile across the canyon.

The largest single lump of coal ever mined was taken from the 20-foot seam of the King Mine No. 1 near Castlegate in 1923. It is now on display at the Utah State Capitol Building.

Castlegate is at the junction with State 33.

Left on this road to DUCHESNE, 44.4 *m.*, a small farming town on US 40.

At 72.5 *m.* is the junction with an oiled road.

Right on this road to the coal mining camps of PEERLESS, 3.1 *m.*; SPRING CANYON, 4.0 *m.*; STANDARDVILLE, 5.2 *m.*; LATUDA, 6.0 *m.*; RAINS, 7.0 *m.*, and MUTUAL, 8.0 *m.*

HELPER, 73.6 *m.* (5,829 alt., 2,843 pop.), is a coal mining camp where houses, built on the slopes of a steep narrow canyon, have the appearance of being on stilts; stairs lead to elevated front doors; the rear of the houses is often flush with the ground. Helper is a railroad shipping point for 28 coal mines having an annual production of approximately 4,000,000 tons of bituminous coal. Spanning the highway is an illuminated steel arch, supported by pillars of coal, with the greeting: "Welcome to Helper, the Center of the Coal Industry."

Built in the mouth of the Price River Canyon, Helper is walled in by the rocky slopes which tower 1,500 feet above the highway. Its name was derived from the extra engines, or helpers, kept here to aid trains over the grade to Soldier Summit.

The CIVIC AUDITORIUM (L) on Main Street, a modern brick structure with a library, card rooms, and meeting rooms, was dedicated in 1932. The HELPER ART GALLERY (*open 1-9 P.M.; adm. free*), on the first floor, is one of four art centers in the State, staffed by the WPA Art Project.

At 74.9 *m.* is the junction with State 137.

Right on this road to EWELL, 0.3 *m.* (5,762 alt., *10 pop.), referred to locally as Spring Glen, which was settled in 1879 by J. G. Gay. KENILWORTH, 3.9 *m.* (6,604 alt., *324 pop.), is a model camp. During the winter season three huge tipples clean, sort, and load coal into waiting strings of railroad cars.

At 75.9 *m.* is the junction with State 139.

Right on this road to CONSUMERS, 10.7 *m.* (7,500 alt., *200 pop.), a model coal camp which is the outgrowth of the industry and effort of A. E. Gibson and his partner. The men managed to ship 34 carloads during their first winter (1920) over a dangerous road to the railroad. Outside interests were attracted, the Consumers Mutual Coal Company was formed, model homes were erected, and a branch railroad line was built.

PRICE, 80.8 *m.* (5,566 alt., 5,214 pop.), seat of Carbon County, is a focal point of coal mining, farming, stock raising, and tourist trade; the town is always prosperous. Settlers came into the area in 1879, and their numbers increased with the coming of the railroad in the 1880's. The discovery of coal early made it a thriving business community. Miners, sheepherders, cowpunchers, business men, and tourists rub shoulders along the paved streets of this cosmopolitan town, which encourages cultural activities, yet caters to the simpler appetites of the miners.

Matt Warner, lieutenant and trusted confederate of Butch Cassidy, settled in Price after completing a prison term. He served two years as city marshal before his death in 1938, and was nationally known as the "Last of the Bandit Riders."

The PRICE ART GALLERY (*open 8-8 weekdays, adm. free*) occupies the second floor of the Municipal Building. Opened by the Utah Art Project in 1940, it exhibits pictures circulated among Federal art centers by the WPA Art Program. Price is a point of entry to Utah's desert wonderlands, with roads fanning out to the Uinta Basin, to Colorado, and to southeastern Utah (*see UTAH GUIDE*).

NOTES

I

PROVO—TODAY AND LONG AGO

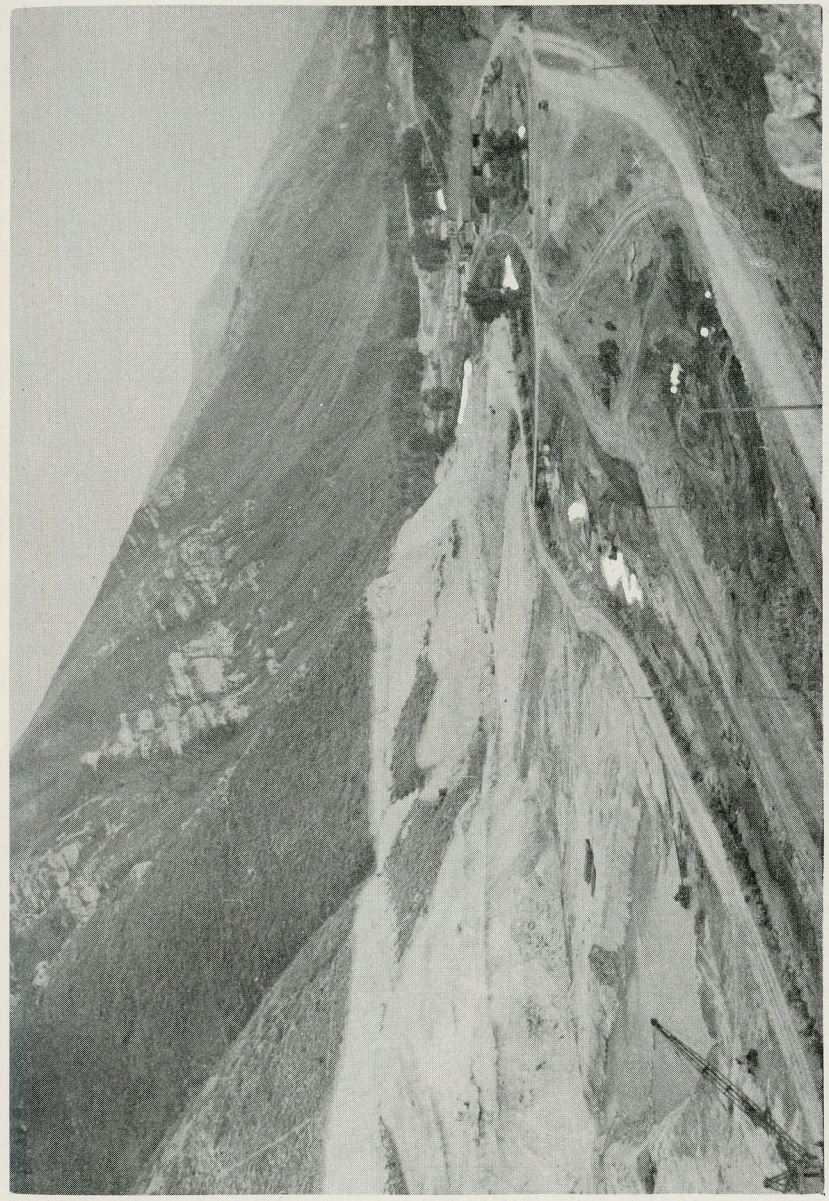
1. G. K. Gilbert, *Lake Bonneville, passim.*
2. Julian H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups,* p. 225.
3. William R. Palmer, "Utah Indians, Past and Present," p. 38, 39.
4. Silvestre velez de Escalante, "Diary and Travels," p. 125.
5. T. J. Farnham, *Pictorial Edition, Life, Adventures, and Travels in California,* p. 76, 77.
6. Escalante, *op. cit.,* p. 180-182.
7. Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration Northwest into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," p. 5.

II

ETIENNE PROVOST

1. On the authority of Judge W. B. Douglas of St. Louis, whose communication concerning the death of Etienne Provost was published in W. R. Harris' *The Catholic Church in Utah,* Provost's name since 1909 has been rendered Provot. Research in the church and court records of St. Louis by Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society, enforces the return to the older spelling. The modern French spelling would doubtless be "Provot", with the "t" silent; the old French form was Provost. In either event "Provo" is a good phonetic spelling of the name.
2. Stella M. Drumm, "Etienne Provost," in *Dictionary of American Biography,* vol. 14, pp. 250, 251.
3. Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans,* Walter B. Douglas, ed., p. 258.
4. Information supplied by Miss Drumm.
5. Harrison C. Dale asserts, ". . . it is certain that Provot and LeClerc, his partner, operated during the year 1823 in the vicinity of the Mandan villages, though it is possible that he spent only the spring in that neighborhood." *(The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific,* 1822-29, p. 89). Dale's authority was the "Casualty List" in the Letter Book of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, but he evidently intended this source as a substantiation of his identification of LeClerc as Provost's partner, rather than as a proof of his entire statement; the document in question does not place Provost and LeClerc in the vicinity unless they composed the "French Co." who lost four men to the "Rickaras" at a point "Below the Mandans," which, however, seems more than probable. Other authorities have relied too strongly on Dale on this point. References to Dale's book are to the 1941 revised edition; but Provost is identically handled in the 1918 edition.
6. Alexander Ross, "Journal of Alexander Ross, Snake Country Expedition, 1824", p. 385.
7. Dale, *op. cit.,* p. 89. The information on this LeClerc is expanded by Miss Drumm.
8. See Philip Ashton Rollins, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail,* pp. XCVI, XCVII, for information on the Astorian career of Francois LeClerc. As far as Rollins could ascertain, Francois disappears from history after his return from Astoria.
9. Communication by Miss Drumm, October 29, 1941.
10. Ceran St. Vrain, letter to Bernard Pratte, April 27, 1824.
11. Dale, *op cit.,* p. 151, 152. It is proper to inquire whether there was at this time any association between the Robidoux brothers and Provost and LeClerc. It is at least coincidental that two companies led by men of French extraction should have commenced trapping operations from the same base at the same time into the same country. See also note 34.
12. W. Marshall Anderson, letter dated February 16, 1860, printed in *The National Intelligencer,* and reprinted in J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah,* p. 17.
13. Hiram M. Chittenden, *American Fur Trade of the Far West,* p. 269. (citations to Chittenden are to the 1935 edition.)
14. Grenville M. Dodge, *Biographical Sketch of James Bridger,* reprinted in J. Cecil Alter, *James Bridger,* p. 501.
15. Dale, *op. cit.,* pp. 89, 103.
16. Alter, *op. cit.,* p. 37.
17. James Clyman, *James Clyman, American Frontiersman,* 1792-1881, pp. 25, 26.
18. Information as to Provost's presence in the Uinta Basin in 1824-25, as developed in this chapter, is supplied by Miss Drumm. More details about Provost's movements in 1825 will become available when the Missouri Historical Society is enabled to publish a fragmentary journal kept by William L. Sublette.
19. See map (c.1836) by Warren A. Ferris in his *Life in the Rocky Mountains,* ed. by Paul C. Phillips. Discovery of this map clarifies Ferris' confused language which led Chittenden and other authorities to identify as the present Provo River what was intended as the Jordan River.
20. Peter Skene Ogden, "Letter to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders," dated at East Fork, Missouri, July 10, 1825, p. 113. Compare also Alexander Ross's journal, October 14, 1824 (Ross, *op. cit.,* p. 385).
21. Ferris, *op. cit.,* p. 308.
22. All the sources unite in giving the date as 1824. Since Ogden wrote his superiors a version of the attack on Provost's men on July 10, 1825, and since Provost had a party of fifteen when he met Ogden, and a party of at least twelve when he returned to the Uinta Basin two weeks later, it may be asserted with confidence that the onslaught, at any rate, took place prior to their encounter in May.
23. J. Cecil Alter, "W. A. Ferris in Utah," p. 105.
24. Kansas Historical Society, Letter Book, Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, 1830-1832, pp. 299, 300.
25. Thomas Becknell, "Journal of Expedition from Santa Cruz to the Green River," p. 81.

26. Kansas Historical Society, Records of the Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, vol. 6. "Colorado" here refers to the Green, which, it will be remembered, flows through the Uinta Basin.
27. "Journal of John Work, 1830-31," p. 368-370.
28. Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life,* pp. 30, 31.
29. Ogden, *op. cit.,* p. 109. Ogden also remarks under date of June 27, 1825, that the Americans "have opened a communication with waggons over land from St Louis to the first Spanish Settlement call'd Taa's where they fit out their Trappers and receive their Furs in return and they say they intend reaching the Columbia also with Waggons not impossible so far as I have seen" (*op. cit.,* p. 116).
30. Provost's movements of 1825 have been quite as difficult for historians as those of 1823-24. On the tantalizingly unreliable authority of Jim Beckwourth, Chittenden assumed that Ashley was succored by Provost from disaster after his eventful descent of Green River in May and June, 1825. Publication in 1918 of Ashley's narrative disposed of this lively story, but Provost had still to be accounted for, and Dale therefore assumed Ashley to have met him at Kamas Prairie and to have gone with him to rendezvous on Henry's Fork. This assumption is now seen to be erroneous, but definite placing of Provost in the Uinta Basin near the mouth of the Uinta (now called the Duchesne) on June 6, 1825, raises a host of new questions. Ashley reached the mouth of the Uinta about May 10, 1825, and cached his goods there before venturing explorations further down the Green. It is strange that he observed no sign of the Provost-LeClerc party, which wintered only two miles away. Some members under LeClerc were, in fact, in the vicinity at this very time. Moreover, after further exploration of the Green, Ashley retraced his way up the Uinta at the same time Provost seems to have been coming down that stream. Before his return to St. Louis, Ashley must have known of Provost's presence in the country; had Provost been one of his employees, he would doubtless have figured in Ashley's report even as did Jedediah Smith, especially in view of the fact that Provost had come from Taos. That Provost was ignored in Ashley's narrative warrants the assumption that Ashley did not care to comment on the activity of his American rivals. Either directly from Provost's men, or indirectly through his own men who came into contact with Provost, Ashley certainly learned of the presence of Provost in the intermontane country; indeed, he must have referred to Provost's party in reporting that the Snakes "some time in the fall of 1824, attacked and killed several of our citizens who had crossed from Taus and were trading on the —— ——." (Dale, *op. cit.,* p. 151.) Dale assumes this to be a reference to an attack on a party led by Joseph Robidou, and quotes a letter by William Gordon saying that in 1824 "eight of Nolidoux men were killed by the Comanches." It is barely possible that this report could be the same as that referring to Provost's losses at the hands of the Snakes, and it may be remembered that the Comanches were a Shoshonean tribe; but it seems more logical to assume that Ashley refers to Provost.
31. Kansas Historical Society, Records of the Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, vol. 6, casualty list appended to John Dougherty's report on the fur trade, October 25, 1831. There can be no absolute certainty that this LeClerc is the LeClerc who was Provost's partner, but the conclusion is hardly doubtful, in view of the time and apparent place of the death, and the disappearance thereafter of LeClerc from the partnership with Provost.
32. T. D. Bonner, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth,* New



PROVO CANYON AT UPSTREAM TOE ON DEER CREEK DAM.

UPPER SECTION OF DEER CREEK DAMSITE

York, 1931, p. 66. It is nevertheless to be noted that Beckwourth's narrative is now rehabilitated in at least one respect—that Provost is shown to have been in the Uinta Basin in the spring of 1825. Beckwourth himself did not get into the Basin, but in associating Provost with the marvelous adventures he "dreamed up" for Ashley on the Green River, he once more demonstrated the thread of truth always to be found somewhere in his yarnings. Beckwourth undoubtedly heard from one or another of the trappers that Provost was in the Basin at the time in question; he may even have encountered Provost personally if the latter went with William Sublette to the Ashley rendezvous.

33. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 276.
34. Document in the Chouteau collection of the Missouri Historical Society. The original is written in French, and question may be raised whether the phrase translated as "the meeting between him and the Robidoux" may not be even more literally translated from the original French ("reunion de lui avec les Robidoux"). If the Robidoux brothers, as suggested in note 11, had been associated with Provost during or after 1824, "reunion" might have a most literal English meaning. The Western Department of the American Fur Company, for which Cabanne was acting, was then determinedly attempting to eliminate all opposition, by fair means or foul. Miss Drumm says, "The Company was forced to make a deal with Joseph Robidou to avoid his opposition, and then they were just as unhappy with him, as they were when he was an opponent."
35. Drumm, *op cit.*, p. 250.
36. Ferris, *op cit.*, pp. 150, 156, 158, 159.
37. *Missouri Republican,* August 26, 1834.
38. Document in the Chouteau collection of the Missouri Historical Society.
39. Allan Nevins, *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West.* pp. 37-45, citing John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life,* pp. 38-54, and Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographic Basin of the Upper Mississippi River,* pp. 15-45.
40. Drumm, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
41. John James Audubon, *Audubon's America,* pp. 295, 312, 315. This reprint of Audubon's journals, edited by Donald Culross Peattie, contains plates in color of Audubon's drawings made while on this expedition.
42. Drumm, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251; Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
43. Harris, *op cit.*, p. 261, quoting obituary from the *Missouri Republican,* July 4, 1850.
44. Drumm, *op cit.*, p. 250. A village in Minnesota is named Provo, but the researches of the Minnesota Writers' Project indicate that it was named not for Etienne but for an early settler, Bill Provost.
45. Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City,* vol. 2, p. 323.
46. Herbert J. Auerbach, "Old Trails, Old Forts, Old Trappers and Traders," p. 58. If any evidence other than the text were required to demonstrate the improbability of a Provost post of this sort, it should be sufficient to mention that Warren A. Ferris, with the American Fur Company during the same period, had no word whatever of any post maintained by Provost.

    A curious sidelight to the legendry that has enshrouded Provost is that the drawing of him, first published in Harris' *Catholic Church in Utah* (1909), and several times reproduced in historical works, appears not to be a portrait of Provost at all. Harris credited the por-

trait to "Castonguay's *Les Voyageurs,*" but Miss Drumm, whose knowledge of the fur trade and its literature is proverbial, has never been able to find any such volume in any library. She has, however, discovered that the portrait generally accepted as being that of Provost was published in *Ontario Archeological Report,* 1907, p. 10, and identified as that of Jean Nicolet.

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5. Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography,* p. 401-403.
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8. Hosea Stout, Journal, vol. 4, p. 82-88.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 88, 89.
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13. Oliver B. Huntington, Journal, vol. 2, p. 54. Huntington and Stout differ as to the efficiency of the militia. It is possible they were in different companies. Stout was a calm and experienced observer.
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3. L.D.S. Journal History, March 9, 1849.
4. *Ibid.,* February 28, 1849; Stout, *op. cit.,* p. 99.
5. L.D.S. Journal History, March 10, 13, 17, 1849.
6. George Washington Bean, "Journal," quoted in Peter Gottfredson, *History of Indian Depredations in Utah,* p. 20.
7. Kate B. Carter, Forts of Utah, MS., p. 2.
8. The exact date of the arrival of the settlers at Provo is not known. Peter Gottfredson, quoting from the journal of George Washington Bean, sets the date as April 1; Edward W. Tullidge states in his "History of Provo" that they arrived early in March; J. Marinus Jensen dates the arrival as March 12 in his *History of Provo;* L.D.S. Journal History records do not reveal the actual date of arrival, but allowing for the usual procedure of organization, and using as a guide the date of appointment of the branch authorities (March 13), April 1 seems the most reliable date.
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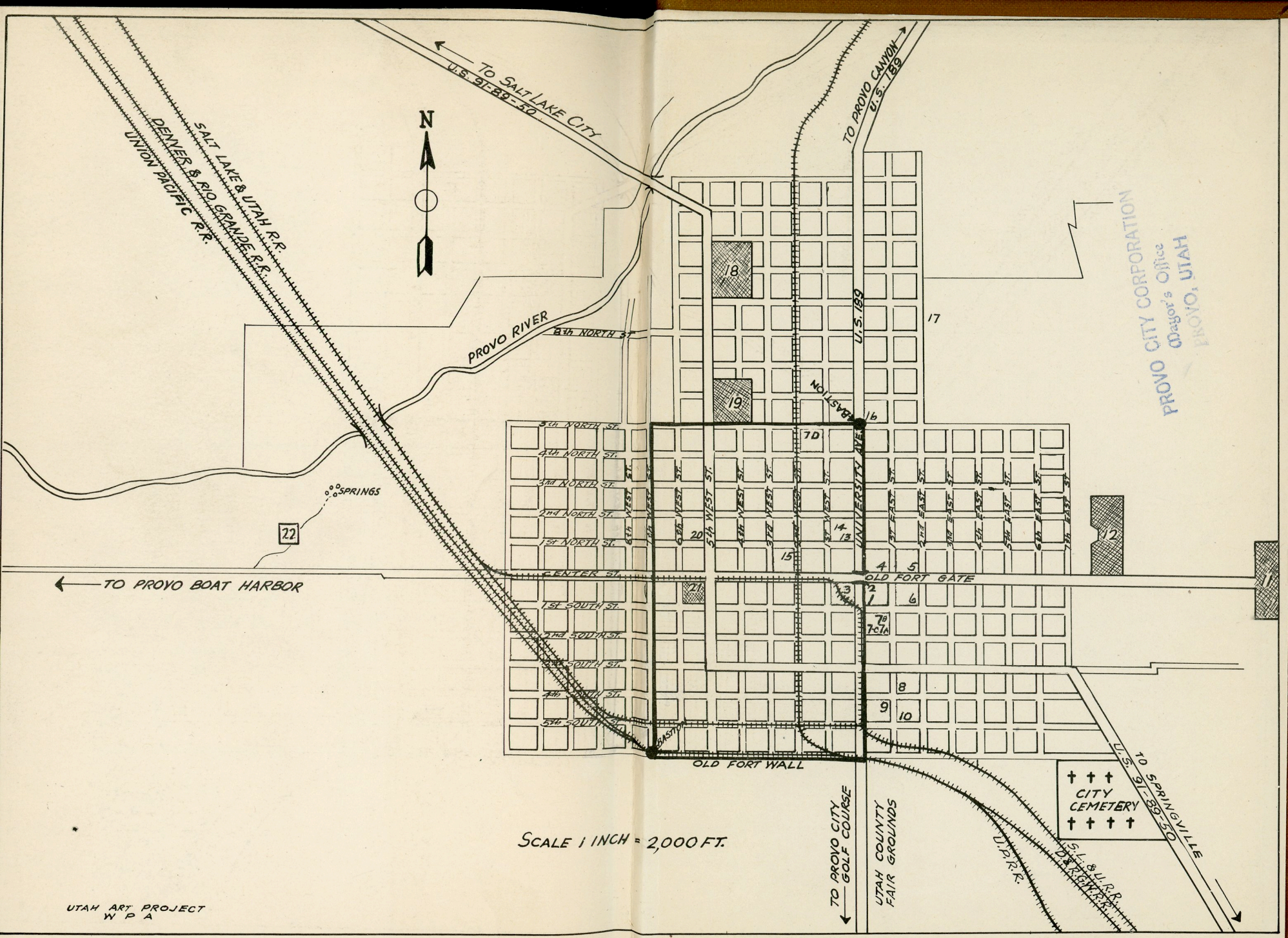

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